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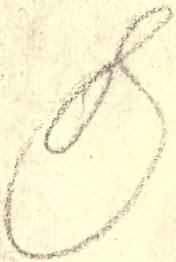

London Printed for Ric: Chiswell.

THE ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of *ENGLAND.*

By GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

LONDON;
Printed for *R. C.* and to be sold by *John Lawrence* at the Angel in *Cornhill*, MDCLXXXII.

THE ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of ENGLAND.

THE PREFACE.

THe Bulk and Price of the two Volumes of the Hiſtory of our Reformation which I have publiſhed, being ſuch, that every one cannot find the Mony to buy them, or the Leiſure to read them, I have been deſired by many to contract what I proſecuted more largely in that Work, and bring it into a leſs Compaſs.

I know Abridgments are generally hurtful: In them Men receive ſuch a ſlight Tincture of Knowledge, as only feeds Vanity, and furniſhes Diſcourſe, but does not give ſo clear a View of things, nor ſo ſolid an Inſtruction as may be had in more copious Writings. And as it is a grievous Impoſition on that time which ought to be imploied to better uſes, to draw out that which might be expreſſed in few words, to ſuch a length, that it frights ſome from the ſtudy of

Books, which might have been of excellent use, if they had not been too Voluminous; and oppresses the Patience of those who are resolved to acquire Knowledge in the most labourious Methods; so it is on the other hand a great Prejudice to the Improvement of Learning, when things are too much contracted, and such hints are only given, as may be the Seeds of excellent Notions, perhaps in very rich and fruitful Minds: for copious Enlargements are often necessary to make the greatest part who are generally slow and heavy in their Apprehensions, enter into those Notions which we set before them. It is a true Judgment of Men and Things, that must direct us to seek and keep that Mean betwixt those Extreams that may be of the greatest Advantage to the World.

What is said of Notions and Matters of Science, is likewise applicable to Matters of Fact. History is of little use, if we consider it only as a Tale of what was transacted in former times. Then it becomes most profitable, when the Series and Reasons of Affairs, and secret Councils and Ends, together with the true Characters of Eminent Men, are rightly presented to us, that so upon the light which is given us of past times, we may form Prudent Judgments of the present time, and probable Conjectures of what is to come; and may frame such a true Idea of Men and Parties, as may both enlighten our Understandings more by giving us a freer Prospect of Humane Affairs, and may better direct us in our conduct.

This

This made me judge it neceſſary to open things in my Hiſtory as largely as my Materials could ſerve me: and becauſe I writ upon a ſubject that had been much contradicted, I was obliged not only to add a great Collection of Records for my Juſtification, which makes the half of each Volume, but likewiſe in the Hiſtory it ſelf, to give often an account of the grounds on which I went. I alſo added an Appendix, containing the more remarkable Calumnies, by which the Writers of the Roman Communion have endeavoured to corrupt the Hiſtory of that time; together with a Confutation of them. I was likewiſe careful to ſet down many particular Curioſities relating to the Proceedings of Parliament, of the Importance of which, every Reader will not be aware at firſt. I gave alſo a large account of all the Arguments that prevailed with the Divines, as well as the Reaſons that wrought on States-men, in the changes that were made; in which the Reader may find an Apology for the Reformation, interwoven with its Hiſtory.

In all theſe particulars, there was matter enough for an Abridger to cut off a great deal, and yet to give ſuch an account of the whole Tranſaction, as might in a great meaſure ſatisfy even Inquiſitive Perſons. I underſtood that another was about this, which made me reſolve on doing it my ſelf; for none can ſo truly comprehend, and by conſequence abridge any Book as the Author himſelf; who, as he knows his own meaning beſt; ſo he who has fixed his Thoughts long

upon my Argument, will be beſt able to judge what are the things and Circumſtances that are of the greateſt Importance, and are moſt neceſſary to be rightly underſtood. In compiling this Abridgment, I have wholly waved every thing that belonged to the Records, and the Proof of what I relate, or to the Confutation of the falſhoods that run through the Popiſh Hiſtorians. All that is to be found in the Hiſtory at large; and therefore in this Abridgment every thing is to be taken upon truſt, and thoſe that deſire a fuller Satisfaction, are to ſeek it in the Volumes which I have already publiſhed. The Particularities relating to the Proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament could not be brought within ſo ſhort an Abſtract. Many Digreſſions, and the Deductions of Arguments, are either paſt over, or but ſhortly touched. He that deſires to be particularly informed in any or all of theſe, muſt reſort to the Hiſtory it ſelf.

All that I pretend to have done in this Abridgment is, that I have given a true and clear account of the Progreſs of the Reformation, in all thoſe Windings, and Advances, and Declinings, through which it was carried from its firſt beginnings, till it was brought to a compleat ſettlement under Queen Elizabeth: *and this is done in ſuch a manner, that I hope the Reader ſhall not find much cauſe to complain that the endeavouring to be ſhort has made me either obſcure or defective. In the Prefaces to the two Volumes I endeavoured to clear the Readers mind of the Prejudices which may be apt to*

ariſe

ariſe, either from a ſlight and general View of this matter, or from the falſe Relations that have been formerly made of it. I ſhall not undertake to abridge them, for I brought them there into as narrow a compaſs as the weight of the matter did admit of: Therefore I refer the Reader, that Labours under the ill Effects of ſuch Impreſſions, to the Prefaces themſelves; and I ſhall add here that which is the laſt part of the Preface to the ſecond Volume, becauſe it may be of more general uſe, and is accommodated to all, that as may be ſuppoſed, will have the curioſity to read this Abridgment, that ſo they may come to it with a true Idea of the Nature of Religion in general, and of the Chriſtian Religion in particular.

That Religion is chiefly deſigned for perfecting the nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and ſecuring the Peace of every mans Conſcience, and of the Societies of Mankind in common, is a truth ſo plain, that without further arguing about it, all will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be judged by its Relation to the main ends of it; And ſince the Chriſtian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the moſt perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was deſigned. And all the Additions that have been made to it, ſince it was firſt delivered to the World, are juſtly to be ſuſpected; eſpecially where it is manifeſt at firſt View, that they were intended to ſerve carnal

carnal and ſecular ends. What can be reaſonably ſuppoſed in the Papacy, where the Popes are choſen by ſuch Intrigues, either of the two Crowns, the Nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of ſome aſpiring Men, to entitle them to Infallability or Univerſal Juriſdiction? What can we think of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, or preſerving them from it by tricks, or ſome mean Pageantry, but that it is a foul peice of Merchandiſe? What is to be ſaid of Implicit Obedience, the Prieſtly Dominion over Conſciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the Peoples hands, and the Worſhip of God in a ſtrange Tongue? but that theſe are ſo many Arts to hoodwink the World, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy. What can we think of Superſtition and Idolatry of Images, and all the other pomp of the Roman *Worſhip? but that by theſe things the people were to be kept up in a groſs notion of Religion, as a ſplendid buſineſs, and that the Prieſts have a trick of ſaving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands. And to ſum up all, What can we think of that Conſtellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpoſe? but that it is an Art to bring the World by whole ſale to renounce their Reaſon and Senſe, and to have a moſt wonderful Veneration for a ſort of Men who can with a Word perform the moſt aſtoniſhing thing that ever was.*

I ſhould grow too large for a Preface, if I would purſue this Argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy Religion, we muſt needs be convinced that we need go no where elſe out of this Church to find them; and that we are compleatly inſtructed in all parts of it, and furniſhed with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the End of our Faith, the Salvation of our Souls. *Here we have the Rule of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for paſt ſins clearly ſet before us. We believe all that Doctrine which Chriſt and his Apoſtles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: We have the comfort of all thoſe Sacraments which Chriſt inſtituted, and in the ſame manner that he appointed them: All the helps to Devotion that the Goſpel offers are in every ones hand. So what can it be that ſhould ſo extravagantly ſeduce any who have been bred up in a Church ſo well conſtituted? unleſs a blind Superſtition in their temper, or a deſire to get Heaven in ſome eaſier Method than Chriſt has appointed, do ſtrangely impoſe on their Underſtandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is ſo unaccountable, that it looks like a Curſe from Heaven on thoſe who are given up to it, for their other ſins; for an ordinary Meaſure of Infatuation cannot carry any one ſo far in Folly. And it may be laid down for a certain* Maxim, *that ſuch as leave us, have never had a true and well formed Notion of Religion, or of Chriſtianity in its main and chief Deſign; but take things in parcels,*

parcels, and without examining them, ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by ſome prejudices which only darken weaker Judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable Folly for any to forſake our Communion, and go over to thoſe of Rome, *it is at the ſame time an unexcuſable weakneſs in others who ſeem full of zeal againſt* Popery, *and yet upon ſome inconſiderable Objections do depart from the Unity of the Body, and form ſeparated Aſſemblies and Communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our Doctrine or Worſhip: But the moſt aſtoniſhing part of the wonder is, that in ſuch differences there ſhould be ſo little mutual forbearance or gentleneſs to be found: and that they ſhould raiſe ſuch heats as if the ſubſtance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a ſtroke from Heaven on both ſides, for their other ſins: We of the Church-Communion have truſted too much to the ſupports we receive from the Law, we have done our Duties too ſlightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to puniſh and awaken us, has ſuffered ſo many of our people to be wreſted out of our hands: and thoſe of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themſelves, and have been too compliant with the Leaders of their ſeveral Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are puniſhed with this fatal blindneſs, not to ſee at this time the things that belong to our peace.* And

And this leads me to Reflections of another ſort, with which I ſhall conclude this Preface.

It is apparent the Wrath of God hangs over our Heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill Condition are as ſad as they are viſible: and one of the worſt is, that each Sort and Party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themſelves, and caſt it on others, with whom they are diſpleaſed: But no Man ſays, What have I done? *The Clergy accuſe the Laity, and the Country complains of the City: every one finds out ſomewhat wherein he thinks he is leaſt concerned, and is willing to fix on* that *all the Indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we our ſelves have kindled againſt our ſelves. It cannot be denied, ſince it is ſo viſible, that generally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Goſpel has not had thoſe effects among us which might have been expected, after ſo long and ſo free a courſe as it has had in this* Iſland. *Our wiſe and worthy Progenitors reformed our Doctrine and Worſhip; but we have not reformed our Lives and Manners: what will it avail us to underſtand the right Methods of worſhiping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick Offices, without ſenſe and affection, which is as bad as a* Bead-roll *of Prayers in whatſoever Language they are pronounced? What ſignifies our having the Sacraments purely adminiſtred among us, if we either contemptuouſly neglect them*

them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a ſenſe of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great Attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching ſignify, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Sermons only as ſet Diſcourſes, which they will cenſure or commend as they think they ſee cauſe, but are reſolved never to be the better for them? If to all theſe ſad Conſiderations we add the groſs Senſuality and Impurity, that is ſo avowedly practiſed that it is become a faſhion, ſo far it is from being a reproach; the Oppreſſion, Injuſtice, Intemperance, and many other Immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that theſe Abominations receiving the higheſt Aggravation they are capable of, from the clear Light of the Goſpel which we have ſo long enjoyed, the juſt Judgments of Heaven, ſhould fall on us ſo ſignally, as to make us a reproach to all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the meaſure of our Iniquities, many have arriv'd at a new pitch of Impiety, by defying Heaven it ſelf, with their avowed Blaſphemies and Atheiſm: and if they are driven out of their Atheiſtical Tenets, which are indeed the moſt ridiculous of any in the World, they ſet up their reſt on ſome general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Chriſtianity and the Scriptures, with open

and

nd impudent ſcorn, and are abſolutely inſenſible of any Obligation of Conſcience in any thing whatſoever: and even in that Morality, which they for Decencies ſake magnify ſo much, none are more bare-facedly and groſly faulty. This is a direct Attempt againſt God himſelf, and can we think that he will not viſit for ſuch things, nor be avenged on ſuch a Nation? And yet the Hypocriſy of thoſe who diſguiſe their flagitious Lives, with a Mask of Religion, is perhaps a Degree above all, though not ſo ſcandalous till the Mask falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all ſo guilty, and when we are ſo alarmed by the black Clouds that threaten ſuch terrible and laſting Storms, what may be expected but that we ſhould be generally ſtruck with a deep ſenſe of our crying Sins, and turn to God with our whole Souls? But if after all the loud Awakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to that Voice, but will ſtill go on in our Sins, we may juſtly look for unheard of Calamities, and ſuch Miſeries as ſhall be proportioned to our Offences; and then we are ſure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or at leaſt if ſo many were rightly ſenſible of this, as, according to the Proportion that the Mercies of God allow, did ſome way ballance the Wickedneſs of the reſt, and if theſe were as zealous in the true Methods of imploring God's Favour, as others are in procuring his Diſpleaſure; and were not only mourning for their own Sins, but for the Sins of others; the

Prayers

Prayers and Sighs of many ſuch, might diſſipate that diſmal Cloud which our ſins have gathered; and we might yet hope to ſee the Goſpel take root among us: ſince that *God who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of Compaſſion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us, is ſtill ſo dear to him, that if we by our own unworthineſs do not render our ſelves incapable of ſo great a Bleſſing, we may reaſonably hope that he will continue that which at firſt was by ſo many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued* Series *of the ſame indulgent care advanc'd by Degrees, and at laſt raiſed to that pitch of perfection which few things atttain in this World.*

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ERRATA.

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PAge 20. line 5. *stop* read *step.* Page 45, l. 17. *if he said,* read *he said if.* P. 47. l. 6. dele *any.* P. 60. l. 18. *after determine,* dele ; l. 19. *after same,* d. ; P 61. l. *implored,* r *employed.* P. 64 l. 9. *formerly,* r. *formally.* P. 81. mar. l. 4. *after the,* r. *King and the.* P. 82. l. 2. *enacted,* r. *exacted.* P. 89. l. 23. *King the,* r. *the King.* P. 92. l. 6. *or,* r. *of.* P. 93. l. 3. 9, r. 11. P. 95. l. 8. *big a,* r. *a big.* P. 99. l. 19. *new,* r. *now.* l. 29. *after this,* r. *was.* P. 109. l. 6. *he,* r. *the.* P. 121. l. 2. *after so,* r. *was.* P. 130. l. 3. *for,* r. *but.* P. 131. l. 16. *after and,* r. *he with.* P. 133. l. 9. *after was,* r. *given.* P. 135. l. 22. *being,* r. *were.* P. 139. l. 30. *after were,* r. *to.* P. 141 l. *ult. near,* r. *now at.* P. 181. mar. l. 3. *cited in,* r. *seized on.* P. 184. l. 2. *had it,* r. *it had.* P. 196. l. 26. del. *once.* P. 205. l. 12. *before the,* r. *as.* P. 217. l. 11. *before the,* r. *this.* P. 237. l. 31. *some,* r. *since.* P. 242. l. 25. *her will,* r. *his will.* P. 243. l. 5. *after for,* r. *since.* P. 257. l. 14. *after Abel,* r. , P. 260. l. 16. del. *are.* P. 291. l. 11. *corrupting,* r. *reforming.*

Book 2.] *P.* 13. l. 15. *had,* r. *been.* P. 30. l. 34. 20*th*, r. 10*th*. P. 53. l. 22. *so,* r. *for.* P. 103. l. 25 *not,* r. *nor.* P. 111. l. 13. *after all,* r. *his.* P. 188 l. 15. del. *then.* P. 199. l. 31. *in,* r. *on.*

Book 3.] P. 301. l. 20. *hew,* r. *new.* P. 321. l. 16. *after most,* r. *part.* P. 312. l. 2. *Peru,* r. *Fern* l. *some,* r. *the same.* P. 317. l. 12. 80000, r. 8000.

Book 4.] *P.* 354. l. 28. and *P.* 356. l. 7. *Ferknam,* r. *Fecknam.*

KING HENRY
the VIII.

KING EDWARD
the VI.

Q. KATHERINE
OF SPAINE.

QUEEN ANN
BULLEYN.

Thomas Cromwell
Earle of Essex.

S.r Thomas More
Ld Chancellor.

CARD: WOLSEY.

Arch-Bishop
CRANMER

AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE History of the Reformation OF THE Church of ENGLAND.

LIB. I.

Of the Beginnings of it, and the Progreſs made in it, by King Henry *the Eighth.*

THE Wars of the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, had produced ſuch diſmal Revolutions, and caſt *England* into ſuch frequent and terrible Convulſions, that the Nation, with great

The Union of the two Houſes of York *&* Lancaſt. *in* K. H. VIII.

Book I. great joy received *Henry* the Seventh; who being himself descended from the House of *Lancaster*, by his marriage with the Heir of the House of York, did deliver them from the fear of any more Wars by new Pretenders. But the covetousness of his Temper, the severity of his Ministers, his ill conduct in the Matter of *Britaign*, and his jealousy of the House of *York*, not only gave occasion to Impostors to disturb his Reign, but to several Insurrections that were raised in his time: By all which he was become so generally odious to his People, that as his Son might have raised a dangerous competition for the Crown during his Life, as devolved on him by his Mother's death, who was indeed the Righteous Heir; so his death was little lamented. And *Henry* the Eighth succeeded, with all the Advantages he could have desired; and his disgracing *Empson* and *Dudley*, that had been the cruel Ministers of his Fathers Designs for filling his Coffers, his appointing Restitution to be made of the Sums that had been unjustly exacted of the People, and his ordering Justice to be done on those rapacious Ministers, gave all People hopes of happy Times, under a Reign that was begun with such an Act of Justice, that had indeed more Mercy in it, than those Acts of Oblivion and Pardon, with which others did usually begin. And when Ministers, by the King's Orders, were condemned and executed for invading the Liberties of the People under the Covert

April 22 1509.

He disgraces Empson and Dudley.

of

of the King's Prerogative; it made the Nation conclude, that they ſhould hereafter live ſecure, under the Protection of ſuch a Prince, and that the violent Remedies of Parliamentary Judgments ſhould be no more neceſſary, except as in this caſe, to confirm what had been done before in the ordinary Courts of Juſtice. Book I.

The King alſo either from the Magnificence of his own Temper, or the Obſervation he had made of the ill Effects of his Father's Parſimony, did diſtribute his Rewards and Largeſſes with an unmeaſured Bounty; ſo that he quickly emptied his Treaſure, which his Father had left the fulleſt in Chriſtendom: But till the ill Effects of this appeared, it raiſed in his Court and Subjects the greateſt Hopes poſſible of a Prince, whoſe firſt Actions ſhewed an equal mixture of Juſtice and Generoſity. He is very liberal. 1800000 l.

At his firſt coming to the Crown, the Succeſſes of *Lewis* the Twelth, in *Italy*, made him engage as a Party in the Wars with the Crown of *Spain*; He went in Perſon beyond Sea, and took both *Terwin* and *Tournay*; in which, as he acquired the Reputation of a good and fortunate Captain; ſo *Maximilion* the Emperor, put an unuſual Compliment on him, for he took his pay, and rid in his Troops. But a Peace quickly followed; upon which, the *French* King married his Younger Siſter *Mary*, but he dying ſoon after, *Francis* the firſt ſucceeded: and he renewing his Pretenſions upon *Italy*, His Succeſs in the Wars. 1513. 1514.

Book I. *Henry* could not be prevailed on to ingage early in the War, till the Successes of either Party should discover which of the sides was the weaker, and needed his Assistance most.

But tho hitherto, *Spain* was an unequal Match to *France*, yet all *Spain* being now united (except *Portugal*) and strengthned by the Accession of the Dominions of *Burgundy*, and inriched by the discovery of the *Indies*; and all this falling into the hands of so great a Prince as *Charles*, afterwards the fifth Emperor of that Name; the ballance between these Kingdoms grew as equal, as the Qualities of the Princes themselves were, which ingaged them in a Rivalry that made their Minds as divided, as their Interests were opposite. *Charles* being preferred to *Francis* in the Competition for the Empire, that kindled the Animosity higher, and seemed to encrease *Charles*'s Party, tho the extent and distance of his Dominion was such, that one Soul (tho his was one of the largest and most active in the World) could not animate so vast a Body. Both these Princes saw how considerable an Ally or Enemy *England* might prove, under a King so much esteemed and beloved; so they spared no Arts that might engage him into their Interests; they gained his Ministers by their Presents, and himself by their Complements, for it was soon found out, that Vanity was his weak side. The Emperour came in Person to *England*, without the distrustful Precaution of

He is courted both by *France* and *Spain*.

1520, *May*.

of a Paſsport, and did ſo prevail with him, and his great Favourite Cardinal *Wolſey*, by the promiſe of the Popedom, that tho an Interview followed between *Francis* and him, yet he found the Scale of *France* was then the heavier, ſo that upon the War, which followed between thoſe Princes, he joyned with the Emperour. Book I. *June.*

Charles, to aſſure himſelf of Cardinal *Wolſey*, gave him hopes of the Popedom; which perhaps he did the more eaſily, becauſe Pope *Leo* being ſo young a Man, there was no great appearance of a Vacancy: but the Pope dying ſooner than perhaps was expected, *Adrian*, that had been the Emperour's Tutor, was then choſen, and Cardinal *Wolſey* had the promiſe of ſucceeding him: But a ſecond Vacancy following within two Years, the Emperour broke his word the ſecond time; upon which, the Cardnial was ſo offended, that he reſolved to take his Revenge, ſo ſoon as a favourable Conjuncture ſhould offer it ſelf; and tho he had laid the beſt Train he could at *Rome* for the Chair; yet upon *Clement* the ſeventh's Advancement, he diſſembled the matter ſo with him, as to proteſt, that he was the very perſon whom he had wiſhed to ſee raiſed to that Dignity. 1521, *Decemb.*

The Battel of *Pavia*, in which *Francis* was taken Priſoner, and his Army defeated, turned the Scale mightily; the Pope was neareſt the danger, and felt it ſooneſt; for he projected the Clementine League, by which both He and the Republick of *Venice*, *Francis* the firſt, is taken Priſoner,

Book I. and the Princes of *Italy*, engaged in the Interests of *France*; and the King of *England* was declared the Protector of it. Both publick and private Interests wrought on the King; and his own Resentments, as well as the Cardinals animated him to it: for the Emperour was so lifted up with his Success, that he began to form the Project of an Universal Empire, and tho he had come to
1522. *England* in Person a second time, and had contracted a Marriage with the King's Daughter, yet he preferred a Match with the *Infanta* of *Portugal* to it, judging it to be of more Importance to him to keep all
1526. quiet in *Spain*. *Francis* was now at liberty, but had given his Sons as Hostages, so he was slow in his Proceedings, tho he was the Person most concerned in the League: The Emperour was highly displeased with the Pope, whom he look'd on as his own Creature, but it was always observed, that of what Faction soever a Cardinal might be, yet upon the Advancement, he became the Head of his own.

Septemb. The *Colonesi* entred *Rome* with three thousand Men, and sack'd it, the Pope re-
1527. tiring to the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, and submitting to the Conditions that were offered; but their Troops being drawn out of *Rome*, the Pope gathered his together, and fell on their Lands, and by a Creation of fourteen Cardinals for Money (which perhaps may be excused from Simony, because they took no care of Souls) he was enabled to prosecute the War; but the

Duke

Duke of *Bourbon*, that upon a Diſcontent given him in *France*, had gone over to the Emperour's Service, came to *Rome*, and took it by ſtorm, himſelf being killed in the Aſſault, the Pope and ſeventeen Cardinals, ſhut themſelves in the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, but he was forced to render, and was kept Priſoner ſome Months. Book I *May*, And afterwards the Pope.

This gave great Scandal to all *Europe*; the Emperour himſelf ſeem'd aſhamed of it, for he would ſuffer no rejoycing to be in *Spain* for his Sons Birth, but appointed publick Proceſſions for the Pope's Liberty. *Wolſey* had now the beſt opportunity he could wiſh, to declare his Zeal for the Pope's Service, and his Averſion to the Emperour; ſo he went to *France*, and made a new League, for ſetting the Pope at liberty. The Emperour prevented the Conjunction he ſaw like to follow, and having brought the Pope to his own Terms, he reſtored him again to his Freedom. And thus both the Pope and the King of *France*, that by very unuſuſal Accidents had been taken Priſoners, acknowledged that their Liberty was chiefly due to the Indeavours that King *Henry* had uſed for procuring it.

When he was thus firmly united to the Intereſts of *France*, he had leſs to fear from *Scotland*, which being a perpetual Ally to *France*, gave him no Diſturbance, but as it was drawn into the War by that Court: That Kingdom was alſo for many Years under a King not of Age, and ſo was much diſtracted by Faction, and thoſe Broils *Scotland* in diſorder

Book I. at home, being the surest way to keep them from making Inroads into *England*, were kept up by the Mony which the King sent the *Malecontents*; therefore both the Courts of *France* and *England*, by the Pensions they gave, kept the several Parties there in pay, which Advantage that Kingdom lost when it was joyned to *England*. As for Domestick Affairs in the Government of *England*, the King left Matters much in the hands of his Council, in which there were two different Parties, headed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Lord Treasurer that was Duke of *Norfolk*: The former much complained of the Consumption of the Treasure; the other justified himself, that he only obeyed the King's Orders. But the Treasurer's Party, under a bountiful King, must always be strongest, both in the Court and Council. In the first Parliament, the Justice done upon *Empson* and *Dudly*, gave so great Satisfaction, that all things went as the Court desired. In the second Parliament, a Brief that Pope *Julius* writ, complaining of *Lewis* the twelfth, was first read in the House of Lords, and then carried down by the L. Chancellor, and some other Lords to the House of Commons, and read there, upon which, Mony was granted for a War with *France*. At this time, *Fox*, to support his Party against the Lord Treasurer, endeavoured to bring *Thomas Wolsey* into favour; he was of mean Extraction, but had great Parts, and a wonderful Dexterity in insinuating himself into Men's Favours; so he

Factions in the Council.

Car. *Wolsey*'s Rise.

he being brought into Buſineſs, did ſo ma- Book I.
nage the King, that he became very quickly
the Maſter of his Spirit, and of all his Affairs;
and for fifteen Years continued to be the
moſt abſolute Favourite that had ever been
ſeen in *England*. He ſaw the King was
much ſet on his Pleaſures, and had a great
Averſion to buſineſs; and the other Coun-
ſellours being unwilling to bear the load of
Affairs, were uneaſy to him, by preſſing
him to govern by his own Counſels; but he
knew the methods of Favourites better, and
ſo was not only eaſy, but aſſiſtant to the
King in his Pleaſures, and undertook to
free him from the Trouble of Government,
and to give him leiſure to follow his Appe-
tites.

He was Maſter of all the Offices at home, And
and Treaties abroad; ſo that all Affairs went Greatneſs.
as he directed them. He it ſeems became
ſoon obnoxious to Parliaments, and there-
fore he tried but one during his Miniſtry,
where the Supply was granted ſo ſcantily,
that afterwards he choſed rather to raiſe
Mony by Loans and Benevolences, than by
the free gift of the People in Parliament.
He became ſo ſcandalous for his ill Life,
that he grew to be a Diſgrace to his Pro-
feſſion; for he not only ſerved the King,
but alſo ſhared with him in his Pleaſures,
which were unhappy to him, for he was
ſpoiled with Venerial Diſtempers. He was
firſt made Biſhop of *Tournay* in *Flanders*,
then of *Lincoln*, after that he was promoted
to the See of *York*, and had both the Abby
of

Book I. of St. *Albans*, and the Bishoprick of *Bath* and *Wells in Commendam*; the last he afterwards exchanged for *Durefm*, and upon *Foxes* death, he quitted *Durefm*, that he might take *Wincheſter*; and besides all this, the King by a special Grant, gave him power to dispose of all the Ecclesiastical Preferments in *England*, so that in effect he was the Pope of this other World, as was said antiently of an Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and no doubt but he copied skilfully enough after those Patterns that were set him at *Rome*. Being made a Cardinal, and setting up a Legatine Court, he found it fit for his Ambition to have the Great Seal likewise, that there might be no clashing between those two Jurisdictions. He had in one word all the Qualities necessary for a Great Minister, and all the Vices ordinary in a Great Favourite.

During this whole Raign, the Duke's of *Norfolk* Father and Son, were Treasurers, but that long and strange course of Favour in so tickliſh a Time, turn'd fatally upon the Son, near the end of the King's Life. But he that was the longest and greatest sharer in the King's Favour, was *Charles Brandon*, who from the degree of a private Gentleman was advanced to the highest Honors. The strength of his Body, and the gracefulness of his Person, contributed more to his Rise, than his Dexterity in Affairs, or the Endowments of his Mind, for the greatest Evidence he gave of his Understanding, was, that knowing he was not made for Business, he did not pre-

Charles Brandon's Advancement.

tend

tend to it; a Temper ſeldom obſerved by the Creatures of Favour. The frame and ſtrength of his Body made him a great Maſter in the Diverſions of that Age, Juſts and Tiltings, and a fit Match for the King, or rather a Second to him, who delighted mightily in them. His Perſon was ſo acceptable to the Ladies, that the King's Siſter, the Queen Dowager of *France* liked him, and by a ſtrange ſort of making Love, prefixed him a time for gaining her Conſent to marry him; and aſſured him, if that he did not prevail within that time, he might for ever deſpair. She married him in *France*, and the King after a ſhew of ſome Diſpleaſure, was pacified and continued his Favours to him, not only during his Siſter's Life, but to the laſt, and in all the Revolutions of the Court that followed, in which every Miniſter fell by turns, he ſtill enjoyed his ſhare in the King's Bounty and Affection: ſo much happier it proved to be loved, than truſted by him. Book I.

The King denied himſelf none of thoſe Pleaſures, that are as much legitimated in Courts, as they are condemned elſewhere; but yet he declared no Miſtriſs, but *Elizabeth Blunt*, and owned no Iſſue, but a Son he had by her, whom he afterwards made Duke of *Richmond*. He took great care never to imbroil himſelf with his Parliaments, and he met with no Oppoſition in any, except in that one, which was during Cardinal *Woolſey*'s Miniſtry; in which 800000 *l.* being demanded for a War with *France*, to be paid in four Years, the debate about it roſe very high

The King's uſage of his Parliaments.

Book I. high, and not above the half of it was offered; so the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, and desired to hear the Reasons of those who were against the Supply, but he was told that it was against their Orders to speak to a Debate before any that was not of the House: he was much disatisfied at this, and cast the blame of it upon Sir *Thomas Moor* that was Speaker, and after that he found out other means of supplying the King without Parliaments.

The King's Education. The King had been educated with more than ordinary Care: and Learning being then in its dawning, after a night of long and gross Ignorance, his Father had given Orders that both his elder Brother and he should be well instructed in matters of Knowledg; not with any design to make him Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, for he had made small progress, when his Brother Prince *Arthur* died, being then but eleven Years old: perhaps *Henry* the seventh felt the Prejudices of his own Education so much, that he was more careful to have his Son better taught; or may be he did it to amuze him, and keep him from looking too early into matters of State. The Learning then most in credit among the Clergy, was the Scholastical Divinity, which by a shew of Subtilty, did recommend it self to curious Persons; and being very sutable to a vain and contentious Temper, was that which agreed best with his Disposition; and it being likely to draw the most Flattery from Divines, became the chief Subject of his

his Studies, in which he grew not only to be Eminent for a Prince, whose Knowledg tho ever so moderate, will be admired by Flatterers as a Prodigy, but he might really have past for a Learned Man had his Quality been ever so mean. He delighted in the purity of the Latin Tongue, and understood Philosophy, and was so great a Master in Musick, that he composed well. He was a bountiful Patron to all Learned Men, more particularly to *Erasmus* and *Polidore Virgil*, and delighted much in those Returns which hungry Scholars use to make to liberal Princes; for he loved Flattery out of measure, and particularly to be extolled for his Learning and great Understanding: and he had enough of it to have surfeited a Man of any Modesty; for all the World, both at home and abroad, contended who should exceed most indecently in setting out his Praises. The Clergy carried it; for as he had merited most at their hands, both by his espousing the Interests of the Papacy, and by his entering the Lists with *Luther*: so those that hoped to be advanced by those Arts, were as little ashamed in magnifying him out of measure, as he was in receiving their gross Commendations.

Book I.

His Learning and Vanity.

The manner of promotion to Bishopricks and Abbies was then the same, that had taken place ever since the Investitures by the Ring and Staff were taken out of the hands of Princes. Upon a Vacancy the King seized on all the Temporalities, and granted a Licence for an Election, with a special Recommen-

The manner of promotion of Bishops.

Book I. commendation of the Person; which being returned, the Royal Assent was given, and it was sent to *Rome* that Bulls might be expeded, and then the Bishop Elect was consecrated: after that he came to the King and renounced every Clause in his Bulls that was contrary to the King's Prerogative, or to the Law, and swore Fealty; and then were the Temporalities restored. Nor could Bulls be sued out at *Rome* without a Licence under the Great Seal; so that the Kings of *Engl.* had reserved the power to themselves, of promoting to Ecclesiastical Benefices notwithstanding all the Invasions the Popes had made on the Temporal power of Princes.

A Contest concerning the Ecclesiastical Immunity.

The Immunity of Church-men for crimes committed by them, till they were first degraded by the Spirituality, occasioned the only Contest that was in the beginning of this Reign between the Secular and Ecclesiastical Courts. King *Henry* the Seventh past a Law, that Clerks convict should be burnt in the hand. A temporary Law was also made in the beginning of this Reign, That Murderers and Robbers, not being Bishops, Priests, nor Deacons, should be denied the benefit of Clergy: but this was to last only till the next Parliament, and so being not continued by it, the Act determined. The Abbot of *Winchelcomb* preached severely against it, as being contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Holy Church, and said, that all who assented to it had faln under the Censures of the Church. And afterwards he published a Book, to

1515.

prove

prove that all Clerks, even of the lower Orders, were Sacred, and could not be judged by the Temporal Courts. This being done in Parliament-time, the Temporal Lords, with the Commons, addreſſed to the King, deſiring him to repreſs the Inſolence of the Clergy. So a publick Hearing was appointed before the King, and all the Judges: Dr. *Standiſh*, a Franciſcan, argued againſt the Immunity, and proved that the judging Clerks had been in all times practiſed in *England*; and that it was neceſſary for the peace and ſafety of Mankind, that all Criminals ſhould be puniſhed. The Abbot argued on the other ſide, and ſaid, it was contrary to a Decree of the Church, and was a Sin in it ſelf. *Standiſh* anſwered, That all Decrees were not obſerved: for notwithſtanding the Decrees for Reſidence, Biſhops did not reſide at their Cathedrals. And ſince no Decree did bind till it was received, this concerning Immunity, which was never received in *England*, did not bind. After they had fully argued the matter, the Laity were all of opinion that the Fryar was too hard for the Abbot, and ſo moved the King that the Biſhops might be ordered to make him preach a Recantation Sermon. But they refuſed to do it, and ſaid they were bound by their Oaths to maintatin his Opinion. *Standiſh* was upon this, much hated by the Clergy, but the matter was let fall, yet the Clergy carried the point, for the Law was not continued. Book I.

Not long after this, an Accident fell out that

Book I. that drew great Consequences after it. One *Richard Hun*, a Merchant in *London*, was sued by his Parish-Priest for a Mortuary in the Legates Court, so he was advised to sue the Priest in the temporal Court for a Premunire for bringing the King's Subjects before a forraign and illegal Court. This incensed the Clergy so much that they contrived his Destruction: So hearing that he had *Wickliff*'s Bible, he was upon that put in the Bishop's Prison for Heresy, but being examined upon sundry Articles, he confessed some things, and submitted himself to Mercy, upon which they ought according to Law, to have injoyned him Penance, and discharged him, this being his first Crime; but he could not be prevailed on by the terror of this to let his Suit fall in the Temporal Court; so one Night his Neck was broken with an Iron Chain, and he was wounded in other Parts of his Body, and then knit up in his own Girdle, and it was given out that he had hanged himself; but the Coroners Inquest by examining the Body, and by several other Evidences, and particularly by the confession of the Sumner, gave their Verdict, that he was murdered by the Bishop's Chancellor Dr. *Horsey*, and the Sumner, and the Bel-ringer. The Spiritual Court proceeded against the dead Body, and charged *Hun* with all the Heresy in *Wickliff*'s Preface to the Bible, because that was found in his Possession; so he was condemned as an Heretick, and upon that his Body was burnt. The

Hunn imprisoned for Heresy.

Murdered.

And condemned, his Body burnt.

Bishops

Bishops of *Duresm* and *Lincoln*, and many Doctors sitting with the Bishop of *London* when he gave Judgment; so that it was looked upon as an Act of the whole Clergy: but this produced very ill Effects; for the Clergy lost the Affections of the City to such a degree, that they could never recover them; nor did any one thing dispose them more than this did, to the entertaining the new Preachers, and to every thing that tended to the reproach of the Church-men, whom they esteemed no more their Pastors, but accounted them barbarous Murderers. The Rage went so high, that the Bishop of *London* complained, that he was not safe in his own House, and there were many hearings before the Council; for the Cardinal did all he could to stop the progress of the Matter, but in vain: for the Bishop's Chancellor and the Sumner were indicted as Principals in the Murder. In Parliament an Act passed restoring *Hun*'s Children; but the Commons sent up a Bill concerning his Murder; yet that was laid aside by the Lords, where the Clergy were the Majority. The Clergy look'd on the Opposition that *Standish* had made in the point of their Immunities, as that which gave the rise to *Hun*'s first Suit; so the Convocation cited him to answer for his Carriage in that Matter; but he claimed the King's Protection, since he had done nothing, but only pleaded in the King's Name. The Clergy pretended they did not prosecute him for his pleading, but for some of his Divinity Lectures, contrary

Book I.

Further Disputes about Immunity.

Book I. trary to the Liberty of the Church, which the King was bound to maintain by his Coronation-Oath: but the Temporal Lords, the Judges, and the Commons prayed the King also to maintain the Laws according to his Coronation-Oath, and to give *Standish* his Protection. The King upon this being in great perplexity, required *Veysy*, afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, to declare upon his *Conscience* and *Allegiance* the truth in that matter. His Opinion was against the Immunity; so another publick Hearing being appointed, *Standish* was accused for teaching, *That the Inferiour Orders were not sacred; That their Exemption was not founded on a Divine Right, but that the Laity might punish them; That the Canons of the Church did not bind till they were received; and that the study of the Canon Law was useless.* Of these he denied some, and justified other particulars. *Veysy* being required to give his Opinion, alledged, That the Laws of the Church did only oblige where they were received: As the Law of the Celibate of the Clergy, received in the West, did not bind the Greek Churches, that never received it: So the exemption of the Clerks not being received, did not bind in *England*. The Judges gave their Opinion next, which was, That those who prosecuted *Standish* were all in a *Premunire*. So the Court broke up. But in another Hearing, in the presence of the greatest part of both Houses of Parliament, the Cardinal said in the name of the Clergy, That tho they intended to do nothing against the

King's Prerogative; yet the trying of Clerks seemed to be contrary to the Liberty of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain. So they prayed that the matter might be referred to the Pope. Book I.

The King answered that he thought *Standish* had answered them fully: The Bishop of *Winchester* said, he would not stand to his Opinion at his Peril. *Standish* upon that said, What can one poor Friar do against all the Clergy of *England*? The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* said, Some of the Fathers of the Church had suffered Martyrdom upon that account; but the Chief-Justice replied, That many holy Kings had maintained that Law, and many holy Bishops had obeyed it. In conclusion the King declared, that he would maintain his Rights, and would not submit them to the Decrees of the Church, otherwise than as his Ancestors had done. *Warham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* desired so long time might be given, that they might have an Answer returned from *Rome*; but that was not granted: yet a Temper was found. *Horsey* was appointed to be brought to his Trial for *Hun*'s Murder, and upon his pleading not guilty, no Evidence was to be brought, and so he was to be discharged. But upon this it was said, The Judges were more concerned to maintain their Jurisdiction, than to do Justice upon so horrid a Murder; so the discontent given by it was raised so much higher, and the Crime of a few Murderers, was now transferred upon the whole Clergy, who had concerned

Book I. themſelves ſo much in their Preſervation; and this did very much diſpoſe the Laity to all that was done afterwards, for pulling down the Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny.

The King is much addicted to the Papacy.

This was the only uneaſy ſtep in this King's Raign, till the ſuit for his Divorce was commenced. In all other points he was conſtantly in the Pope's Intereſts, who ſent him the common Complements of Roſes, and ſuch other Triffles, by which that See had treated Princes ſo long as Children. The King made the Defence of the Popedom an Article in his Leagues with other Princes, and Pope *Julius* having called a General Council to the *Lateran*, in oppoſition to that which by *Lewis* the Twelfth's means was held at *Piſa*; The King ſent the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Rocheſter*, the *Prior* of St. *John*'s and the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* to repreſent the Church of *England*, thereby to give the greater Authority to a pack'd meeting of *Italian* Biſhops and Abbots, who aſſumed to themſelves the Title of a *Holy and Oecumenical Council*. But no Complement wrought ſo much on the King's Vanity, as the Title of *Defender of Faith*, ſent him by Pope *Leo* upon the Book, which he writ againſt *Luther* concerning the Sacraments.

Cardinal *Wolſey* intends to reform the Clergy.

The Cardinal drew upon himſelf the hatred of the Clergy, by a Bull which impowered him to viſit all the Monaſteries of *England*; and to diſpence with all the Laws of the Church for a Year. He alſo gave out, that he intended to reform the Clergy, though he forgot that which ought

to be the first step of all who pretend to reform others; for none could be worse than himself was. He lived in great Luxury, and in an insolent Affectation of the highest Statepossible; many of his Domesticks being men of the first Rank. He intended to suppress many Monasteries, and thought the best way for doing it with the least Scandal, was first, to visit them, and so to expose their Corruptions: But he was afterwards diverted from this; yet the design which he laid, being communicated to *Cromwel*, that was then his Secretary, it was put in Practice toward the end of this Reign, when the Monasteries were all suppressed. Book I.

The summoning of Convocations.

The Convocations were of two sorts; some were summoned by the King, when Parliaments were called, as is in use to this Day; only the King did not then prefix a Day, but left that to the Arch-bishops. Others were called by the Archbishops, and were Provincial Synods, of which there were but few. The Cardinal pretended that the summoning all Convocations belonged to him, as *Legate*; so that when *Warham* had called one, he dissolved it after it was met, and summoned it of new. In that Convocation, a great Supply was granted to the King, of half a Years Rent of all Benefices payable in five Years, for assisting him in his Wars with *France* and *Scotland*. This was much opposed by the Cardinal's Enemies, but it was agreed to at last, a *Proviso* being made, that such a heavy tax should 1522.

Book I. never be made a Precedent for the future; tho the Grant they made was more likely to become a Precedent, than this *Proviſo* to be a Security for the time to come.

This encreaſed the Averſion the Clergy had for the Cardinal: the Monks were more particularly incenſed; for they ſaw he was reſolved to ſuppreſs their Foundations, and convert them to other uſes.

The State of the Monaſteries.

In the days of King *Edgar*, moſt of the Cathedrals of *England* were poſſeſſed by Secular Prieſts, who were generally married; but *Dunſtan* and ſome other Monks took advantage from the Vices of that Prince, to perſwade him to make Compenſation for them; and as he made Laws, in which he declared what Compenſations were to be made for Sins, both by the Rich and Poor; ſo, it ſeems, he thought the founding of Monaſteries was the fitteſt Compenſation for a King; and he turned out all the married Prieſts, and put Monks in their ſtead. From that time the Credit and Wealth of Monaſtick Orders continued to encreaſe for ſeveral Ages, till the Begging Orders ſucceeded in the eſteem of the World, to the place which the Monks formerly had; for they decreaſed as much in true worth, as the falſe appearances of it had now raiſed their Revenues. They were not only ignorant themſelves, but very jealous of the progreſs Learning was making: for *Eraſmus*, and the other Reſtorers of it, treating them with much ſcorn, they look'd on the encreaſe of it, as that which would much leſſen them, and ſo not only did not con-

contribute to it, but rather detracted from it, as that which would make way for Heresy. Book I.

The Cardinal designed two noble Foundations, the one at *Oxford*, and the other at *Ipswich*, the place of his Birth, both for the encouragement of the Learned, and the instruction of Youth; and for that end he procured a Bull for suppressing divers Monasteries, which being executed, their Lands by Law fell to the King; and thereupon the Cardinal took out Grants of them, and endowed his Colledges with them. Cardinal *Wolsy* suppresses many.

But we shall next consider the state of Religion in *England*. From the dayes of *Wickliff* there were many that differed from the Doctrines commonly received. He writ many Books that gave great Offence to the Clergy, yet being powerfully supported by the Duke of *Lancaster*, they could not have their revenge during his Life; but he was after his Death condemned, and his Body was raised and burnt. The Bible which he translated into *English*, with the Preface which he set before it, produced the greatest Effects. In it he reflected on the ill Lives of the Clergy, and condemned the Worship of Saints and Images, and the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but the most criminal part was, the exhorting all People to read the Scriptures; where the Testimonies against those Corruptions were such, that there was no way to deal with them but to silence them. His Followers were not Men of Letters, but being The growth of *Wickliff*'s Doctrine.

Book I. wrought on by the easy Conviction of plain Sense, were by them determined in their Persuasions. They did not form themselves into Body, but were contented to hold their Opinions secretly, and did not spread them, but to their particular Confidents. The Clergy sought them out every where, and did deliver them after Conviction to the Secular Arm, that is, to the *Fire*.

The Cruelty of the Clergy.

In the Primitive Church, all cruel Proceedings upon the account of Heresy, were condemned; so that the Bishops who accused some Hereticks, upon which they were put to death, were excommunicated for it. Banishment and Fines, with some Incapacities, were the highest Severities even upon the greatest Provocations. But as the Church grew corrupted in other things, so a cruel Spirit being generally the mark of all ill Priests, of whatsoever Religion they are, they fell under the Influences of it; and from the days of the rise of the *Albigenses*, the severities of the Inquisition, and Burnings, with many other Cruelties, were by the means of the Dominicans set up, first in *France*, and then in the other parts of *Europe*. A Decree was also made in the Council of the *Lateran*, requiring all Magistrates under the pains of forfeiture and deposition, to extirpate Hereticks. Burning agreed best with their Cruelty, as being the most terrible sort of Death, and bearing some resemblance to everlasting Burnings in Hell; so they damned the Souls of the Hereticks, and burnt their Bodies; but

but the Execution of the former part of the Sentence was not in their power, as the latter part was. The Canons of that Council being received in *England*, the Proceedings againſt Hereticks grew to be a part of the Common Law, and a Writ for burning them was iſſued out upon their Conviction. But ſpecial Statutes were afterwards made: The firſt under *Richard* the ſecond, was only agreed to by the Lords; and without its being conſented to by the Commons, the King aſſented to it; yet all the Severity in it was no more, than that Writs ſhould go out to the Sheriffs to hold Hereticks in Priſon, till they ſhould be judged by the Laws of the Church. The Preamble of the Law ſays, 'They were very numerous, that they had a 'peculiar Habit, that they preached in many 'Churches, & other Places againſt the Faith, 'and refuſed to ſubmit to the Cenſures of the 'Church. This was ſent with the other Acts according to the cuſtom of that Time, to all the Sheriffs of *England* to be proclaimed by them; but the Year following in the next Parliament, the Commons complained that that Act was publiſhed, to which they had never conſented; ſo an Act paſſed declaring the former null; yet this was ſuppreſſed, and the former was ſtill eſteemed a good Law.

Laws made in *England* againſt Hereticks.

When *Henry* the fourth came to the Crown, he owing it in great meaſure to the help of the Clergy, paſſed an Act againſt all that preached without the Biſhop's Licence, or againſt the Faith; and it was enacted,

That

Book I. That all Tranſgreſſors of that ſort, ſhould be impriſoned, and within three Months be brought to a Trial: If upon Conviction they offered to abjure, and were not Relapſes, they were to be impriſoned and fined at pleaſure; and if they refuſed to abjure, or were Relapſes, they were to be delivered to the ſecular Arm, and the Magiſtrates were to burn them in ſome publick Place. But tho by this Statute no mention is made of ſending out a Writ for Execution; yet that continued ſtill, to be practiſed: And that ſame Year *Sautre* a Prieſt being condemned as a Relapſe, and degraded by *Arundell*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, a Writ was iſſued out for it, in which, *Burning* is called the *Common Puniſhment*, which related to the cuſtoms of other Nations: For this was the firſt Inſtance of that kind in *England*. In the beginning of *Henry* the fifth's Reign, there was a Conſpiracy againſt the King diſcovered, (tho others that lived not long after, ſay it was only pretended and contrived by the Clergy) of *Old-Caſtle* and ſome others of *Wickliff*'s Followers then called *Lollards*; upon which many were condemned both for Treaſon and Hereſy, who were firſt hanged and then burnt; and a Law followed that the *Lollards* ſhould forfeit all that they held in Fee-ſimple, as well as their Goods and Chattels to the King, and all Sheriffs and Magiſtrates were required to take an Oath, to deſtroy all Hereſies and *Lollardies*, and to aſſiſt the Ordinaries in their

their proceedings againſt them. Yet the Clergy making ill uſe of theſe Laws, and vexing all People that gave them any Offence, with long Impriſonments; the Judges interpoſed and examined the Grounds of their Commitments, and as they ſaw cauſe, Bailed, or Diſcharged the Priſoners; and took upon them to declare, what Opinions were Hereſies by Law, and what were not. Thus the People ſought for Shelter, under their Protection, and found more Mercy at the hands of Common Lawyers, than from them who ought to have been the Paſtors of their Souls, and the Publiſhers of the moſt merciful Religion that ever was. Book I.

In the beginnings of this Reign, there were ſeveral Perſons brought into the Biſhops Courts for Hereſy, before *Warham*. Forty eight were accuſed: But of theſe, forty three abjured, twenty ſeven Men, and ſixteen Women, moſt of them being of *Tenterden*; and five of them, four Men, and one Woman, were condemned; ſome as obſtinate Hereticks, and others as Relapſes: and againſt the common Ties of Nature, the Woman's Husband, and her two Sons, were brought Witneſſes againſt her. Upon their Conviction, a Certificate was made by the Archbiſhop to the Chancery; upon which, ſince there is no Pardon upon Record, the Writs for burning them muſt have gone out in Courſe, and the Execution of them is little to be doubted; for the Clergy were ſeldom guilty of much *The Proſecution of Lollards before Warham.*

Book I. much Mercy in such Cases, having devested themselves of all Bowels, as the Dregs of unmortified Nature. The Articles objected to them were, That they believed that in the *Eucharist*, there was nothing but material Bread; That the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Confession, Matrimony, and Extream Unction, were neither necessary, nor profitable; That Priests had no more Power than Laymen; That Pilgrimages were not meritorious, and that the Mony and Labour spent in them, were spent in vain; That Images ought not to be worshipped, and that they were only Stocks and Stones; That Prayers ought not to be made to Saints, but only to God; That there was no vertue in Holy-water, or Holy-bread. Those who abjured, did swear to discover all that held those Errours, or were suspected of them; and they were enjoyned to carry a Faggot in Procession, and to wear on their Cloaths the Representation of one in Flames, as a publick Confession that they had deserved to be burnt. There were also four in *London* that abjured almost the same Opinions; and *Fox* says, that six were burnt in *Smithfield*, who might be perhaps those whom *Warham* had condemned; for there is no mention of any that were condemned in the Registers of *London*. By all this it will appear, that many in this Nation, were prepared to receive those Doctrines, which were afterwards preached by the Reformers, even before *Luther* began first to oppose Indulgences. The

The Rise and Progress of his Doctrine are well known; the Scandalous extolling of Indulgences gave the first occasion to all that Contradiction, that followed between him and his followers, and the Church of *Rome*; in which, if the Corruptions and Cruelties of the Clergy had not been so visible and scandalous, so small a matter could not have produced such a Revolution; but any Crisis will put ill humours in Fermentation.

The Progress of Luther's Doctrine.

The Bishops were grosly ignorant; they seldom resided in their Dioceses, except it had been to riot it at high Festivals; and all the Effect their Residence could have, was to corrupt others, by their ill Example. They followed the Courts of Princes, and aspired to the greatest Offices. The Abbots and Monks were wholly given up to Luxury and Idleness; and the unmarried State, both of the Seculars, & Regulars, gave infinite Scandal to the World; for it appeared, that the restraining them from having Wives of their own, made them conclude that they had a right to all other Mens. The Inferiour Clergy were no better; and not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the Monks had, they became more publick. In sum, all Ranks of Churchmen were so universally despised, and hated, that the World was very apt to be possessed with prejudice against their Doctrines, for the sake of the Men, whose Interest it was to support them: and the Worship of God was so defiled with much

gross

Book I. groſs Superſtition, that without great enquiries, all Men were eaſily convinced, that the Church ſtood in great need of a Reformation. This was much encreaſed when the Books of the Fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and latter Ages of the Church, did very evidently appear. They found that a blind Superſtition came firſt in the room of true Piety; and when by its means the Wealth and Intereſt of the Clergy was highly advanced; the Popes had upon that, eſtabliſhed their Tyranny; under which, not only the meaner People, but even the crowned Heads, had long groaned. All theſe things concurred to make way for the Advancement of the Reformation: And ſo the Books of the *Germans* being brought into *England*, and Tranſlated, many were prevailed on by them. Upon this, a hot Perſecution, which is alwayes the Foundation on which a vitious Clergy ſet up their Reſt, was vigorouſly ſet on foot, to ſuch a Degree, that ſix Men and Women were burnt in *Coventry* in Paſſion-week, only for teaching their Children, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten Commandments in Engliſh. Great Numbers were every where brought into the Biſhop's Courts; of whom ſome were burnt, but the greater part abjured.

The King laid hold on this Occaſion, to become the Church's Champion, and wrote againſt *Luther*, as was formerly told. His Book beſides the Title of *Defender of the Faith*,

Faith, drew upon him all that Flattery could invent to extol it; yet *Luther* not daunted with such an Antagonist, but rather proud of it, answered it, and treated him as much below the Respect that was due to a King, as his Flatterers had raised him above it. *Tindal*'s Translation of the New Testament with some Notes added to it, drew a severe Condemnation from the Clergy, there being nothing in which they were more concerned, then to keep the People unacquainted with that Book. Sir *Thomas More* seconded the King, and imployed his Pen in the Service of the Clergy, but mixed too much Gall with his Ink. The Cardinal's Behaviour in this matter was unaccountable; for he not only acted nothing against the new Preachers, but when some Bishops moved for a Visitation of the Universities, upon a report of the spreading of Heresy in them, he stop'd it; yet afterwards he called a Meeting of several Bishops, Abbots and Divines, before whom, two Preachers, *Bilney* and *Arthur*, were brought, and Articles of Heresy being objected to them, and proved by Witnesses, they for a while seemed resolved to seal their Doctrines with their Blood; but what through Fear, what through Perswasion, they were prevailed on (first *Arthur*, and *Bilney* five days after) to abjure; but tho *Bilney* was a Relapse, yet the Cardinal was gentle to him, and *Tonstall* Bishop of *London* injoyned him Penance, and discharged him. So much may suffice to shew the condition of

Book I.

Book I. of Affairs in *England* both in Church and State, when the Process of the King's Divorce was first set on foot.

The King's Marriage. *Henry* the seventh entered into a firm Alliance with *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, and agreed a Match between his Son Prince *Arthur*, and *Katherine* the *Infanta* of *Spain*. She

1502. came into *England* & was married in *November*; but on the second of *April* after, the Prince died. They were not only bedded in Ceremony the night of the Marriage, but continued still to lodg together, and the Prince by some indecent Rallery gave Occasion to believe, that the Marriage was consummated, which was so little doubted, that some imputed his too early end to his excess in it. After his Death his younger Brother was not created Prince of *Wales*, till ten Months had past, it being then apparent that the Princess was not with Child by the late Prince; Women were also set about her to wait on her with the Precaution that is necessary in such a Case; so that it was generally believed that she was no Virgin when the Prince died.

Henry the seventh being unwilling to restore so great a Portion as two hundred thousand Ducats, proposed a second Match for her with his Younger Son *Henry*. *Warham* did then object against the Lawfulness of it; yet *Fox* Bishop of *Wincheſter*, was for it, and the Opinion of the Pope's Authority was then so well established, that it was

Decemb. thought a Dispensation from *Rome* was

1503. sufficient to remove all Objections; so

one

one was obtained, grounded upon a desire of the two young Persons to marry together for preserving Peace between the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, by which the Pope dispensed with it notwithstanding the Princess's Marriage to Prince *Arthur*, which was (as is said in the Bull) perhaps consummated. Book I.

The Pope was then in War with *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*, and so would refuse nothing to the King of *England*, being perhaps not unwilling that Princes should contract such Marriages, by which the Legitimation of their Issued epending on the Pope's Dispensation, they would be thereby obliged in Interest to support that Authority: upon this a Marriage followed, the Prince being yet under Age; but the same day in which he came to be of Age, he did by his Father's Orders, make a Protestation that he retracted and annulled his Marriage. 1505.

Henry the seventh at his Death, charged him to break it off entirely, being perhaps apprehensive of such a return of Confusion upon a controverted Succession to the Crown, as had been during the Wars of the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, but upon his Death, *Henry* the Eighth being then eighteen Years of Age, married her: She bore him two Sons, who died soon after they were born; and a Daughter *Mary*, that lived to reign after him; but after that the Queen contracted some Diseases that made her unacceptable to the King; so all hope of any other Issue failing, several 1516. Matches proposed for his Daughter.

Book I

ral Matches were propoſed for his Daughter; the firſt was with the *Dauphin*; then ſhe was contracted with the Emperor; and after that, a Propoſition was made for the King of *Scotland*; and laſt of all a Treaty was made with *Francis* the firſt, either for himſelf, he being then a Widower, or for his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans* to be determin'd at his Option; upon which the Biſhop of *Tarbe* was ſent over Ambaſſador to conclude it; he made an Exception that the Marriage was doubtful and the Lady not legitimate, which had been likewiſe made by the Cortes of *Spain*, by whoſe Advice the Emperor broke the Contract upon that very account, ſo that other Princes moving Scruples againſt a Marriage with his Daughter, the Heir of ſo great a Crown, the King began to make ſome himſelf, or rather to publiſh them, for he ſaid afterwards he had them ſome Years before.

Yet the Cardinal's hatred to the Emperor, was look'd on as one of the ſecret Springs of the King's Averſion to his Aunt; which the King vindicating him in publick, afterwards did not remove: that being conſidered only as a Court Contrivance.

The King has ſome ſcruples concerning his Marriage.

The King ſeemed to lay the greateſt Weight on the prohibition in the Levitical Law of marrying the Brother's Wife, and he being converſant in *Thomas Aquinas*'s Writings, found that he and the other Schoolmen look'd on thoſe Laws as Moral, and for ever binding, and that by Conſequence the Pope's Diſpenſation was of no

 force

force since his Authority went not so far as to dispence with the Laws of God. All the Bishops of *England*, *Fisher* of *Rochester* only excepted, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they judged the Marriage unlawful. The ill Consequences of Wars that might follow upon a doubtful Title to the Crown, were also much considered, or at least pretended. It is not probable that the engagement of the King's Affections to any other gave the rise to all this; for so prying a Courtier as *Wolsey* was, would have discovered it, and not have projected a Marriage with *Francis*'s Sister, if he had seen the King prepossessed: It is more probable that the King conceiving himself upon the point of being discharged of his former Marriage, gave a free scope to his Affections, which upon that came to settle on *Anne Bolleyn*. The King had reason enough to expect a quick and favourable dispatch of his business at *Rome*, where Dispensations or Divorces in Favour of Princes used to pass, rather with regard to the Merits of the Prince that desired them, than of the Cause it self. His Alliance seemed then necessary to the Pope, who was at that time in Captivity. Nor could the Emperour with any good colour oppose his Suit, since he had broken his Contract with his Daughter upon the account of the doubtfulness of the Marriage. Book I.

The Cardinal had also given him full Assurances of a good Answer from *Rome*; whether upon the knowledg he had of that

Book I. Court, and of the Pope's temper, or upon any promise made him, is not certain. The Reasons gathered by the Canonists for annulling the Bull of Dispensation, upon which the Divorce was to follow in course, were grounded upon some false suggestions in the Bull, and upon the Protestation which the King had made when he came to be of Age. In a word, they were such, that a favourable Pope left to himself, would have yielded to them without any scruple.

Anne Bolleyn was born in the year 1507, and went to *France* at seven years of Age, and returned twelve years after to *England*. She was much admired in both Courts, and continued to live without any Blemish till her unfortunate Fall gave occasion to some malicious Writers to defame her in all the Parts of her Life; She was more beautiful than graceful, and more chearful than discreet. She wanted none of the Charms of Wit or Person, and must have had extraordinary Attractives; since she could so long manage such a King's Affection, in which her being with Child soon after the Marriage, shews that in the whole course of seven years she kept him at a due distance. Upon her coming to *England*, the Lord *Piercy* being then a Domestick of the Cardinals, made love to her, and went so far as to engage himself some way to marry her, and that being entertained by her, shews she had then no aspirings to the Crown. But the Cardinal having understood somewhat of the King's secret Intentions, did so threaten him,

him, that he made him, tho not without great difficulty, break off his addreſſes to her. Book I.

Knight, then Secretary of State, was ſent to *Rome* to prepare the Pope in the matter; and the Family of the *Caſſali* having much of the Pope's Favour, they were likewiſe imployed to promote it. To *Gregory Caſſali* did the Cardinal ſend a large Diſpatch, ſetting forth all the Reaſons both in Conſcience and Policy, for obtaining a Commiſſion to himſelf to judge the Affair. Great Promiſes were made in the King's Name, both for publick and private Services, and nothing was forgot that was likely to work either on the Pope, or thoſe Cardinals that had the greateſt Credit about him. *Knight* made application to the Pope in the ſecreteſt manner he could, and had a very favourable Anſwer; for the Pope promiſed frankly to diſſolve the Marriage: but another Promiſe being exacted of him in the Emperour's Name, not to proceed in that Affair, he was reduced to great ſtraits, not ſo much out of regard to his Promiſes, (for he had ſo engaged himſelf, that it was unavoidable for him to break one) as to his Intereſts; he was then at the Emperour's mercy, ſo he was in fear of offending him, yet he both hated him, and was diſtruſtful of him; and had no mind to loſe the King of *England*, therefore he ſtudied to gain time, and promiſed that if the King would have a little patience, he ſhould not only have that which he asked, but every thing that was in his power to grant. 1527. And applies to the Pope.

Book I. 1528.

The Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* made some Scruples concerning the Bull that was demanded, till he had raised his price, and got a great Present, and then the Pope signed both a Commission for *Wolsey* to try the Cause, and judge in it, and also a Dispensation, and put them in *Knights* hands; but with tears prayed him that there might be no proceedings upon them, till the Emperour were put out of a capacity of executing his Revenge upon him, and when ever that was done he would own this act of Justice which he did in the King's favour. For tho the Pope on publick occasions used to talk in the language of one that pretended to be *S. Peter's* Successor; yet in private Treaties he minded nothing but his own Security, and the Interests of his Family. And being a very crafty Man, he proposed an Expedient, which if the King had followed, it had put a quicker and easier end to the Process. He found his sending Bulls, or a Legat to *England*, would become publick, and draw the Emperour upon him, and must admit of delays and be full of danger; therefore he proposed, if the King was satisfied in his own Conscience, in which he believed no Doctor could resolve him better than himself, then he might without more noise make Judgment be given in *England*; and upon that marry another Wife, and send over to *Rome* for a Confirmation; which would be the more easily granted, if the thing were once done. This the Pope desired might be represented to the King as the Advice

Who was very favourable.

vice of the Cardinals, and not as his own. But the King's Counſellers thought this more dangerous than the way of a Proceſs; for if upon the King's ſecond Marriage, a Confirmation ſhould be denyed, then the Right Succeſſion by it, would be ſtill very doubtful, ſo they would not venture on it. Book I. 1528.

The Pope was at this time diſtaſted with Cardinal *Wolſey*; for he underſtood, that during his Captivity, he had been in an Intrigue, to get himſelf choſen Vicar of the Papacy, and was to have ſate at *Avignion*, which might have produced a new Schiſm. *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, being then in *England*, was wrought on by the promiſe of a Biſhoprick, and a Recommendation to a Cardinals Hat, to promote the King's Affair; and by him the Cardinal wrote to the Pope, in a moſt earneſt ſtrain, for a diſpatch of this buſineſs; and he deſired, that an indifferent and *tractable* Cardinal might be ſent over, with a full Commiſſion to joyn with him, and to judge the matter; propoſing to the King's Embaſſadours, *Campegio* as the fitteſt Man; when a Legate ſhould be named, he ordered Preſents to be made him, and that they would haſten his diſpatch, and take care that the Commiſſion ſhould be full. But upon the Arrival of the Couriers, that were ſent from *Rome*, *Gardiner*, the Cardinals Secretary, and *Fox*, the Kings Almoner, the one a Canoniſt, and the other a Divine, were ſent thither with Letters, both from the King and Cardinal, to the

Book I. 1528. Pope, & they carried orders (that were like to be more effectual than any Arguments they could offer) to make great Presents to the Cardinals. They carried with them the draught of a Bull, containing all the Clauses could be invented, to make the matter sure; one Clause was to declare the Issue of the Marriage good, as being begotten *bona fide*, which was perhaps put in to make the Queen more easy, since by that it appeared, that her Daughter should not suffer, which way soever the matter went.

The Cardinal in his Letters to *Cassali*, offered to take the blame on his own Soul, if the Pope would grant this Bull; and with an Earnestness, as hearty and warm, as can be expressed in Words, he pressed the thing, and added, That he perceived, that if the Pope continued Inexorable, the King would proceed another way.

Campegio *sent over Legate.*

These Intreaties had such Effects, That *Campegio* was declared Legate, and ordered to go for *England*, and joyn in Commission with *Wolsey*, for judging this matter. *Campegio* was Bishop of *Salisbury*; and having a Son whom he intended to advance, was no doubt a tractable Man; but to raise his price the higher, he moved many Scruples, and seemed to enter upon this Employment, with great fear, and aversion. *Wolsey* who knew his Temper, prest him vehemently, to make all the hast he could, and gave him the Assurance of great Rewards from the King: For whatever was to be made use of publickly for formes sake,

ſake, theſe were the effectual Arguments that were moſt likely to convince a Man of his Temper: In which *Wolſey* was ſo ſincere, that in a Letter he wrote to him, that of a good Conſcience, being put among other Motives to perſwade him, in the firſt Draught, the Cardinal ſtruck it out, as knowing how little it would ſignify. *Campegio* ſet out from *Rome*, and carried with him a Decretal Bull, for annulling the Marriage which was truſted to him, and he was Authorized to ſhew it to the King and *Wolſey*; but was required not to give it out of his Hands to either of them. At this time, *Wolſey* was taken with the ſweating Sickneſs, which then raged in *Englaud*; and by a Complement which both the King and *Ann Boleyn* writ him, on the ſame piece of Paper, it appears, he was then privy to the Kings Deſign of marrying her, and intended to advance himſelf yet higher, by his merits, in procuring her the Crown. Book I 1528.

This Year he ſettled his two great Colledges; and finding both the King and People much pleaſed with his converting ſome Monaſteries to ſuch uſes, he intended to ſuppreſs more, and to convert them to Biſhopricks, and Cathedral Churches, which the Pope was not willing to grant, the Religious Orders making great Oppoſition to it; but *Gardiner* told him, *it was neceſſary, and muſt be done*; ſo a power for doing it, was added to the Legates Commiſſion.

At

Book I. At this time, the Queen engaged the Emperor to espouse her Interests, which he did, the more willingly, because the King was then in the Interests of *France*; and to help her Business, a Breve was either found, or forged, (the last is more probable) of the same date with the Bull, that dispensed with her Marriage: But with stronger Clauses in it, to answer those Objections that were made against some defects in the Bull, though it did not seem probable, that in the same Day, a Bull and a Breve would have been granted for the same thing, in such different strains. The most considerable Variation was, That whereas the Bull did only suppose, that the Queens Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, was *perhaps* Consummated; the Breve did suppose it absolutly, without a *perhaps*. This was thought to prejudice the Queen's Cause as much, as the Suspicion of the Forgery did blemish her Agents.

1528.

Campegio *comes into* England.

In *October*, *Campegio* came into *England*; and after the first Complements were over, he first advised the King to give over the Prosecution of his Suit; and then counselled the Queen in the Pope's Name, to enter into a Religious Life, and make Vows; but both were in vain; and he by affecting an Impartiality, almost lost both sides. But he in great measure pacified the King, when he shewed him the Bull he had brought over for annulling the Marriage; yet he would not part with it out of his hands, neither to the King, nor the Cardinal;

dinal; upon which, great Inſtances were made at *Rome*, that *Campegio* might be ordered to ſhew it to ſome of the King's Counſellors, and to go on and end the buſineſs, otherwiſe *Wolſey* would be ruined, and *England* loſt: Yet all this did not prevail on the crafty Pope, who knew it was intended once to have the Bull out of *Campegio*'s hands, and then the King would leave him to the Emperour's Indignation: But tho he poſitively refuſed to grant that, yet he ſaid, he left the Legates in *England*, free to judge as they ſaw Cauſe, and promiſed that he would confirm their Sentence. Book I. 1528.

The Imperialiſts at *Rome* preſſed him hard, to inhibit the Legates, and to recall the Cauſe that it might be heard before the Conſiſtory. The Pope declined this motion; and to mollify the King, he ſent *Campana*, one of his Bed-chamber, over to *England*, with Complements too high to gain much Credit: He aſſured the King, that the Pope would do for him all he could, not only in *Juſtice*, and *Equity*, but in the *fulneſs of his Power*: And that tho he had reaſon to be very apprehenſive, of the Emperour's Reſentments, yet that did not divert him from his Zeal for the King's Service; for if his reſigning the Popedome would advance it, it ſhould not ſtick at that. He alſo was ordered to require the Legates, to put a ſpeedy end to the buſineſs; but his ſecret Inſtructions to *Campegio* were of another ſtrain; he charged

Campana *ſent to deceive the King.*

Book I. charged him to burn the Bull, and to draw out the matter by all the delayes he could
1528. invent. Sir *Francis Brian*, and *Peter Vannes*, were diſpatched to *Rome*, with new Propoſitions, to try, whether, if both the King and Queen took Religious Vowes, ſo that their Marriage were upon that annulled, the Pope would engage to diſpence with the King's Vow, or grant him a Licenſe for having two Wives. *Wolſey* alſo offered in the King's Name, to ſettle a Pay for 2000 Men, that ſhould be a Guard to the Pope, and to procure a Reſtitution of ſome of his Towns, on which the *Venetians* had ſeized. But the Pope did not care to have his Guards payed by other Princes; which he looked on as a putting himſelf in their hands. He was in fear of every thing that might bring a new Calamity upon him; and was now reſolved to unite himſelf firmly with the Emperour, by whoſe means only, he hoped to reeſtabliſh his Family at *Florence*; and ever after this, all the uſe he made of the King's Earneſtneſs in his Divorce, was only, to draw in the Emperour to his Intereſts, on the better Terms. The Emperour was alſo then preſſing him hard, for a General Council; of which, beſides the averſion that the Court of *Rome* had to it, he had particular reaſon to be afraid; for being a Baſtard, he was threatned with Depoſition as uncapable, by the Canons of the Church, to hold ſuch a Dignity. The Pope propoſed a Journey *incognito*, to *Spain*, and

The Pope reſolved to unite with the Emperour.

and desired *Wolsey* to go with him, for obtaining a General Peace. But in secret, he was making up with the Emperour, and gave his Agents Assurances, that tho the Legates gave Sentence, he would not confirm it. So the King's Correspondents at *Rome*, wrote to him, to set on the War more vigorously against the Emperour, for he could expect nothing at *Rome*, unless the Emperour's Affairs declined. Book I.

The Pope went on cajoling those the King sent over, and gave new Assurances, that tho he would not grant a Bull, by which the Divorce should be immediately his own Act; yet he would confirm the Legates Sentence so he resolved: to cast the Load wholly upon them: if he said, he did it himself, a Council would be called by the Emperour's means, in which, his Bull would be annulled, and himself deposed, which would bring on a new Confusion; and that, considering the footing Heresy had got, would ruine the Church. The Pope inclined more to the dissolving the Marriage, by the Queen's taking Vowes, as that which could be best defended; but the Cardinal gave him notice, that the Queen would never be brought to that, unless her Nephews advised it. 1529.

At this time, the Pope was taken suddenly ill, and fell in a great Sickness; upon which, the Imperialists began to prepare for a Conclave: But *Farnese*, and the Cardinal of *Mantua* opposed them, and seemed to have Inclination for *Wolsey*. Whom, as his *The Pope's Sickness.*

Book I. his Correſpondents wrot to him, they reverenced as a *Deity*. Upon this he ſent a Courier to *Gardiner*, then on his way to *Rome*, with large Directions, how to manage the Election; It was reckoned, that the King of *France*, joyning heartily with the King, of which he ſeemed confident; there were only ſix Cardinals wanting, to make the Election ſure, and beſides Summes of Mony, and other Rewards, that were to be diſtributed among them; he was to give them aſſurance, that the Cardinals Preferments ſhould be divided among them. Theſe were the ſecret Methods of attaining that Chair: And indeed it would puſſle a Man of an ordinary degree of Credulity, to think, That one choſen by ſuch means, could be Chriſt's Vicar, and the infallible Judge of Controverſies. But the Pope's Recovery, put an end to thoſe Intrigues, which yet were ſoon after revived, by a long and dangerous Relapſe. Then great pains was taken, to gain many Cardinals to favour the King's Cauſe; and many Precedents were found of Divorces, granted in Favour of Princes, upon much ſlighter grounds. But the Imperialiſts were ſo ſtrong at *Rome*, that they could not hope to prevail, if the Emperour was not firſt gained; ſo there was a ſecret Negotiation ſet on foot with him, but it had no other Effect, ſave that it gave great Jealouſy, both to the Pope, and the King of *France*. Another diſpatch was ſent to *Rome*, to procure a Commiſſion, with fuller powers

Wolſey's aſpiring. 1528.

powers in it to the Legates, and a Promise under the Pope's hand to confirm their Sentence; the latter was granted, but the former was refused, for the Pope was resolved to go no further in that Matter, tho *Wolsey* wrote to *Rome*, that if [redacted] Justice were denied the King, not only *England*, but *France* likewise would withdraw their Obedience from the Apostolick See; because by that it would be inferred, that the Emperour had such Influence at *Rome*, as to oblige the Pope to be partial or favourable as he pleased. At this time the Cardinal was cheapning his Bulls for *Winchester*, which were rated at 15000 Ducats, but since it was a Translation from *Duresm*, so that a new Composition would come in for that Vacancy, he refused to pay above a third of what was demanded. Book I. The Pope promised to confirm any Sentence the Legates should give.

The Emperour's Ambassadour made a Protestation at *Rome* in the Queen's Name against the Legates as partial in the King's Favour, which the Pope received. *Gardiner*, that was a Man of great Craft, and could penetrate well into Secrets, wrote to the King, assuring him, that he might expect nothing more from the Pope, who was resolved to offend neither the Emperour nor him; and therefore he advised him to get the Legates to give Sentence with all possible haste; and then when it should come to the Emperour's turn to solicite the Pope for Bulls against the King, the Pope would be as backward as he was now. He was so fearful, and under such irresolution 1529.

that

Book I. that he could be brought to do nothing with Vigor: This *Gardiner* deſired might not be ſhewn to the Cardinal; for he was now ſetting up for himſelf, and had a private Correſpondence with *Anne Boleyn*, who in one of her Letters to him as a token of ſpecial Favour, ſent him ſome Cramp Rings that the King had Bleſſed, of which the Office is extant; and *Gardiner* in one of his Letters ſays, They were much eſteemed for the Virtue that was believed to be in them. In the Promiſe which the Pope ſigned to confirm the Sentence that ſhould be given by the Legates, ſome Clauſes were put, by which he could eaſily break looſe from it; ſo he endeavoured to get another in fuller termes, by this Artifice: He told the Pope, that the Courier had met with an Accident in paſſing a River, by which the Promiſe was ſo ſpoiled with Water, that it could not be made uſe of. But the Pope inſtead of being catched with this, to give a new one, ſeemed glad that it was ſpoiled, and poſitively refuſed to renew it. And a long and earneſt Letter which the Legates wrote to the Pope, preſſing him to end the matter roundly by a Decretal Bull, aſſuring him it was only ſcruple of Conſcience that wrought on the King, and no deſire of a new Wife, and that the whole Nation was much offended with the delays of this Matter, in which they were all ſo much concerned, wrought nothing on him; for he conſidered that as done by them only in compliance with the King, who thought he had intirely

1529.

intirely gained *Campegio*, and the ſcandals of his Life were ſo publick, that the motives of Intereſt were likely to prevail on him more than any other: but by all the Arts that were uſed, they were not able to over-reach the Pope, who whatever he might be in his Deciſions, ſeemed infallible in his Sagacity and Jealouſy. The Queen's Agents preſſed hard for an Avocation, but the Pope was unwilling to grant that, till he had finiſhed his Treaty in all other points with the Emperour, and he began to complain much of the cold Proceedings of the Confederates, and that they expoſed him ſo much not only to the Emperour's Mercy, but to the ſcorn of the *Florentines*: by this it was viſible, he was ſeeking a Colour for caſting himſelf into the Emperour's Arms: great Objections were made to the Motion for an Avocation, it was contrary to the King's Prerogative to be cited to *Rome*, and it was ſaid he would ſeek Juſtice of the Clergy of *Engl.* if the Pope denied it. It was alſo contrary to the Promiſe under the Popes hand, and his Faith often given by word of mouth, chiefly of late by *Campana*, to recal the Legat's Commiſſion: but verbal Promiſes did not bind the Pope much, they vaniſhed into Air; and *Campana* ſwore that he had not made any, and for the written Promiſe, there was a Clauſe put in it, by which he could eſcape, ſo that he was at liberty from all Ingagements but thoſe he had privately given in diſcourſe, and to theſe he was no Slave.

Book I. 1529.

Book I. 1529. The Process begun in *England.*

The Legates began the Process in *England*, after the necessary Preliminaries: the Queen appeared, and protested against them as incompetent Judges: endeavours were used to terrify her into some compliance; it was given out that some had intended to kill the King or the Cardinal, and that she had some hand in it, that she carried very disobligingly to the King, and used many indecent Arts to be popular; that the King was in danger of his Life by her means, and so could no more keep her company neither in Bed nor at Board; but she was a Woman of so resolute a mind, that no Threatnings could daunt her. When both the King and She were together in the Court, the Queen instead of answering to the Legates, kneeled down before the King, and spake in a manner that raised Compassion in all that were present; she said, She had been his Wife these twenty Years, had born him several Children, and had always studied to please him, therefore she desired to know wherein she had at any time offended him. As for their Marriage it was made by both their Parents, who were esteemed wise Princes, and had no doubt good Counsellours when their Match was agreed on; but at present she neither had indifferent Judges, nor could she expect that her Lawyers being his Subjects durst speak freely for her, and therefore she could not expect Justice there; so she went out of the Court, and would never return to it any more. Upon this the King

gave

gave her a great Character for her extraordinary Qualities, and proteſted, he was acted by no other Principle, then that of Conſcience. He added, that *Wolſey* did not ſet him on to this Suit, but had oppoſed it long: that he firſt moved the matter in Confeſſion to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and had deſired the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to procure him the Reſolution of the Biſhops of *England*, in his Caſe; and that they had all under their hands declared, that his Marriage was unlawful. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* denied he had ſigned it; but *Warham* pretended, he gave him leave to make another write his Name to it. *Fiſher* denied this, and it was no way probable. Book I. 1529.

The Legates went on according to the forms of Law, tho the Queen appealed from them to the Pope, and excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and her Lawyers: Yet they pronounced her *Contumax*, and went on to Examine Witneſſes; chiefly, to that particular of the Conſummation of her Marriage with Prince *Arthur*. But now ſince the Proceſs was thus going on, the Emperours Agents preſt the Pope vehemently for an Avocation; and all poſſible endeavours were uſed by the King's Agents to hinder it; they ſpared nothing that would work on the Pope, either in the way of perſwaſion, or threatning: It was told him, that there was a Treaty ſet on foot, between the King, and the *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany*; and that upon the Pope's declaring himſelf ſo

The Queen appeals to the Pope.

Book I. partial, as to grant the Avocation, he would certainly imbark in the same Interests with them. But the Pope thought the King was so far ingaged in Honour in the Points of Religion, that he would not be prevailed with to unite with *Luther*'s Followers: So he did not imagine, that the Effects of his granting the Avocation, would be so dismal, as the Cardinal's creatures represented them: He thought it would probably ruine him, which might make his Agents use such Threatnings, and he did not much consider that, for he hated him in his heart. So in Conclusion, after the Emperour had engaged to him, to restore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, he resolved to publish his Treaty with him: But that the granting the Avocation, might not look like (what indeed it was) a secret Article, he resolved to begin with that; and with great signs of sorrow, he told the *English* Embassadours, that he was forced to it; both because all the Lawyers told him, it could not be denied, and that he could not resist the Emperours Forces, which surrounded him on all hands. Their endeavours to gain a little time by delayes, were as fruitless as their other Arts had been, for on the 15*th* of *July*, the Pope signed it, and on the 19*th*, he sent it by an express Messenger to *England*.

1529.

The Pope grants an Avocation.

The Legates, *Campegio* in particular, drew out the matter, by all the delayes they could contrive, and gained much

* time.

time. At last, it being brought to that, Book I.
that Sentence was to be pronounced, *Campegio*, instead of doing it, adjourned the Court till *October*, and said, that they being a part of the Consistory, must observe their times of Vacation. This gave the King and all his Court great offence, when they saw what was like to be the Issue of a Process; on which the King was so much bent; and in which he was so far engaged, both in Honour and Interest. *Campegio* had nothing to lose in *England*, but the Bishoprick of *Sailisbury*, for which, the Pope or Emperour could easily recompence him; but *Wolsey* was under all the Terrours, that an Insolent Favorite is liable to, upon a change in his Fortune; None being more abject in misfortune, than those that are lifted up with Success. When the Avocation was brought to *England*, the King was willing, that the Legates should declare their Commission void, but would not suffer the Letters Citatory to be served, for he looked upon it as below his Dignity to be cited to appear at *Rome*. The King governed himself upon this occasion, with more temper than was expected: He dismissed *Campegio* civily, only his Officers searched his Coffers, when he went beyond Sea, with design, as was thought, to see if the Decretal Bull could be found. *Wolsey* was now upon the point of being disgraced, tho the King seemed to treat him with the same Confidence he had formerly put in him; it being ordina-

Book I. 1529. ry for many Princes to hide their designs of disgracing their Favourites, with higher Expressions of kindnesses than ordinary, till their Ruine breaks out the more violently, because it is not foreseen.

Cranmer's Rise. At this time, Dr. *Cranmer*, a Fellow of *Jesus-Colledge* in *Cambridge*, meeting accidentally with *Gardiner*, and *Fox*, at *Waltham*, and being put on the Discourse of the King's Marriage, proposed a new Method, which was, That the King should engage the chief Universities, and Divines of *Europe*, to examine the lawfulness of his Marriage; and if they gave their Resolutions against it, then it being certain, that the Pope's Dispensation could not derogate from the Law of God, the Marriage must be declared null: This was new, and seemed reasonable; so they proposed it to the King, who was much taken with it, and said, *he had the Sow by the right Ear*: He saw this way was both better in it self, and would mortify the Pope extreamly; so *Cranmer* was sent for, and did so behave himself, that the King conceived an high opinion, both of his Learning and Prudence, and of his Probity and Sincerity, which took such root in the King's mind, that no Artifices, nor Calumnies, were ever able to remove it.

Wolsey *is disgraced.* But as he was thus in his Rise, so *Wolsey* did now decline. The Great Seal was taken from him, and given to Sir *Thomas Moor*: And he was sued in a Premunire, for having held the Legatine Courts by a For-

Forraign Authority, contrary to the Laws of *England*: He confeſſed the Indictment, and pleaded Ignorance, and ſubmitted himſelf to the King's Mercy; ſo Judgment paſſed on him: Then was his rich Palace (now *Whitehall*) and Royal Furniture, ſeized on to the King's uſe: Yet the King received him again into his Protection, and reſtored to him the Temporalities of the Sees of *York* and *Winchester*, and above 6000 *l.* in Plate, and other Goods: And there appeared ſtill great and clear Prints in the King's mind, of that entire Confidence, to which he had received him: of which, as his Enemies were very apprehenſive, ſo he himſelf was ſo much tranſported with the Meſſages he had concerning it, that once he fell down on his knees in a Kennel before them that brought them. Articles were put in againſt him, in the Houſe of Lords; it ſeems, for a Bill of Attainder, where he had but few Friends; which all inſolent Favourites may expect in their Diſgrace. In the Houſe of Commons, *Cromwel*, that had been his Secretary, did ſo manage the matter, that it came to nothing. This failing, his Enemies procured an order to be ſent to him, to go into *Yorkſhire*: Thither he went in great State, with 160 Horſes in his Train, and 72 Carts following him, and there he lived ſome time: But the King was informed, that he was practiſing with the Pope, and the Emperour: So the Earl of *Northumberland* was ſent to arreſt him of high Treaſon, and bring him

Book I. 1529.

Book I. up to *London*. On the way he sickned, which different collours of Wit may impute, either to a greatness, or meanness of Mind, tho the last be the truer. In Conclusion, he died at *Leicester*, making great Protestations, of his constant Fidelity to the King, particularly in the matter of his Divorce: And he wished he had served God, as faithfully as he had done the King; for then he would not have cast him off in his gray Hairs, as the King had done. Words that decliniug Favourites are apt to reflect on, but they seldom remember them in the hight of their Fortune.

1519. *His Death.*

The King thought it necessary, to secure himself of the Affections, and Confidences of his People, before he would venture on any thing that should displease two such mighty Potentates, as the Pope, and the Emperour. So a Parliament was called; in it the Commons prepared several Bills, against some of the Corruptions of the Clergy; particularly, against Plurality of Benefices, and Non-residence: Abuses, that even Popery it self, could not but condemn. The Clergy abhorred the Precedent of the Commons, medling in Ecclesiastical matters; so *Fisher* spoke vehemently against them, and said, all this flowed from *lack of Faith*.

A Parliament is called.

Upon this, the Commons complained of him to the King, for reproaching them; the House of Peers either thought it no breach of Priviledge, or were willing to wink

wink at it, for they did not interpose. *Fisher* was hated by the Court, for adhering so firmly to the Queen's Interests; so he was made to explain himself, and it was passed over. Book I. 1530.

The Bills were much opposed by the Clergy, but in the end they were passed, and had the Royal Assent. In this long Interval of Parliament, the King had borrowed great Sums of Mony; so the Parliament, both to discourage that way of supplying Kings for the Future; and for ruining the Cardinal's Creatures, who had been most forward to lend, as having the greatest Advantages from the Government, did by an Act discharge the King of all those Debts. The King granted a general Pardon, with an exception of such as had incurred the pains of Premunire, by acknowledging a Forraign Jurisdiction, with design to terrify the Pope, and keep the Clergy under the lash. The King found it necessary, to make all sure at home, for now were the Pope and Emperour, linkt in the firmest Friendship possible; The Pope's Nephew was made Duke of *Florence*, and married the Emperour's Natural Daughter. A Peace was also made between *Francis* and the Emperour; and the King found it not so easy, to make him break with the Pope, upon his account, as he had expected. The Emperour went into *Italy*, and was crowned by the Pope; who when the Emperour was kneeling down to kiss his Foot, humbled

The Kings Debts are discharged

Book I. bled himſelf ſo far as to draw it in, and kiſs his Cheek.

1530. *The Univerſities declare againſt the King's Marriage.*

But now the King intending to proceed in the Method propoſed by *Cranmer*, ſent to *Oxford*, and *Cambridg*, to procure their Concluſions. At *Oxford*, it was referred by the major part of the Convocation, to thirty three Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, whom that Faculty was to name; they were impowered to determine the Queſtion, and put the Seal of the Univerſity to their Concluſion: And they gave their Opinions, that the Marriage of the Brother's Wife, was contrary both to the Laws of God, and Nature. At *Cambridg*, the Convocation was unwilling to refer it to a ſelect number; yet it was after ſome days Practice, obtained, but with great difficulty, that it ſhould be referred to twenty nine; of which number, two thirds agreeing, they were empowered to put the Seal of the Univerſity to their Determination: Theſe agreed in Opinion, with thoſe of *Oxford*. The jealouſy that went of Dr. *Cranmer*'s favouring Lutheraniſm, made, that the fierce Popiſh Party, oppoſed every thing in which he was ſo far engaged. They were alſo afraid of *Ann Bolleyn*'s Advancement, who was believed tinctured with thoſe Opinions. *Crook*, a learned Man in the Greek Tongue, was imployed in *Italy*, to procure the Reſolution of Divines there; in which, he was ſo ſucceſsful, that beſides the great diſcoveries he made in ſearching the Manuſcripts of the

the Greek Fathers, concerning their Opinions in this point, he engaged ſeveral Perſons to write for the King's Cauſe; and alſo got the *Jews* to give their Opinions of the Laws in *Leviticus*, that they were Moral and Obligatory: Yet when a Brother died without Iſſue, his Brother might marry his Widow within *Judea*, for preſerving their Families, and Succeſſion; but they thought that might not be done out of *Judea*. The State of *Venice* would not declare themſelves, but ſaid they would be Neutrals; and it was not eaſy to perſwade the Divines of the Republick, to give their Opinions, till a Brief was obtained of the Pope, permitting all Divines, and Canoniſts, to deliver their Opinions, according to their Conſciences; which was not granted but with great difficulty. *Crook* was not in a condition to corrupt any, for he complained in all his Letters, of the great want he was in: And he was in ſuch ill terms with *John Caſſali*, the King's Embaſſadour at *Venice*, that he complained much of him to the King, and was in fear of being poyſoned by him. The Pope abhorred this way of proceeding, though he could not decently oppoſe it; but he ſaid in great ſcorn, that no Friar ſhould ſet Limits to his Power. *Crook* was ordered to give no Mony, nor make Promiſes to any, till they had freely delivered their Opinion; which as he writ, he had ſo carefully obſerved, that he offered to forfeit his Head, if the contrary were found true.

Book I. 1530.

Book I. true. Fifteen, or Twenty Crowns, was all the reward he gave, even to those that 1530. wrot for the King's Cause; and a few Crowns he gave to some of those that subscribed: But the Emperour rewarded those that wrot against the Divorce, with good Benefices; so little reason there was to ascribe the Subscriptions he procured to Corruption; the contrary of which, appears by his Original Accounts, yet extant. Besides, many Divines, and Canonists; not only whole Houses of Religious Orders, but even the University of *Bononia*, tho the Pope's Town, declared, that the Laws in *Leviticus*, about the degrees of Marriage, were parts of the Law of Nature; and that the Pope could not dispense with them. The University of *Padua*, determined the same; as also that of *Ferrara*. In all, *Crook* sent over to *England*, an hundred several Books, and Papers, with many Subscriptions; all condemning the King's Marriage, as unlawful in it self. At *Paris*, the *Sorbon* made their Determination, with great Solemnity; after a Mass of the Holy Ghost, all the Doctors took an Oath, to study the Question, and to give their Judgment according to their Consciences; and after three Weeks study, the greater part agreed in this, *That the King's Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope could not dispense with it.* At *Orleans*, *Angiers*, and *Tholouse*, they determined to the same purpose. *Erasmus* had a mind to live in quiet, and so he would not give his Opinion, nor offend either

The Sorbon declares against the Marriage.

either party. *Grineus* was imployed to try what *Bucer*, *Zuinglius*, and *Oecolampadius* thought of the Marriage. *Bucer*'s Opinion was, that the Laws in *Leviticus* did not bind, and were not moral: Becauſe God, not only diſpenſed, but commanded them to marry their Brother's Wife, when he died without Iſſue. *Zuinglius*, and *Oecolampadius*, were of another mind, and thought theſe Laws were moral: But were of Opinion, that the Iſſue by a Marriage, *de facto*, grounded upon a received Miſtake, ought not to be Illegitimated. Book I. 1530. *The Opinion of the Reformed Divines, about it.*

Calvin thought the Marriage was null, and they all agreed, that the Pope's Diſpenſation was of no force. *Oſiander* was imploied to engage the *Lutheran* Divines, but they were afraid of giving the Emperour new grounds of diſpleaſure. *Melanctthon* thought the Law in *Leviticus* was diſpenſable, and that the Marriage might be lawful; and that in thoſe matters, States and Princes might make what Laws they pleaſed; And though the Divines of *Leipſick*, after much diſputing about it, did agree, that theſe Laws were moral, yet they could never be brought to juſtify the Divorce, with the ſubſequent Marriage that followed upon it, even after it was done: and that the King appeared very inclinable to receive their Doctrine; So ſteadily did they follow their Conſciences, even againſt their Intereſts: But the Pope was more compliant, for he offered to *Caſ-*

ſali

Book I. *sali*, to grant the King a Dispensation for having another Wife, with which the
1530. Imperialists seemed not disatisfied.

Many of the Nobility write to the Pope.

The King's Cause being thus fortified, by so many Resolutions in his Favours, he made many members of Parliament in a Prorogation time, sign a Letter to the Pope, complaining, that notwithstanding the great merits of the King, the Justice of his Cause, and the Importance of it to the safety of the Kingdom; yet the Pope made still new Delayes; they therefore pressed him to dispatch it speedily, otherwise they would be forced to see for other Remedies, tho they were not willing to drive things to Extremities, till it was unavoidable: The Letter was signed by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, four other Bishops, 22 Abbots, 42 Peers, and 11 Commoners. To this the Pope wrote an answer: He took notice of the Vehemence of their Stile: He freed himself from the Imputations of Ingratitude, and Injustice: He acknowledged the King's great Merits; and said, he had done all he could in his Favour: He had granted a Commission, but could not refuse to receive the Queen's Appeal; all the Cardinals with one consent judged, that an Avocation was necessary. Since that time, the delays lay not at his door, but at the Kings; that he was ready to proceed, and would bring it to as speedy an Issue, as the Importance of it would admit of; and for their Threatnings, they were neither

The Pope's Answer.

ther agreeable to their Wiſdom, nor their Religion. Book I

Things being now in ſuch a Poſture, the King ſet out a Proclamation, againſt any that ſhould purchaſe, bring over, or publiſh any Bull from *Rome*, contrary to his Authority: and after that he made an Abſtract of all the Reaſons and Authorities of Fathers, or modern Writers, againſt his Marriage to be publiſhed, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*. 1530. *November*

The main ſtreſs was laid on the Laws in *Leviticus*, of the forbidden Degrees of Marriage; among which, this was one, *not to marry the Brother's Wife*. Theſe Marriages are called *Abominations*, *that defile the Land*; and for which, the *Canaanites* were caſt out of it. The Expoſition of Scripture, was to be taken from the Tradition of the Church; and by the Univerſal Conſent of all Doctors, thoſe Laws had been ſtill looked on as Moral, and ever binding to Chriſtians, as well as *Jews*: Therefore, *Gregory* the Great, adviſed *Auſtin* the Monk, upon the Converſion of the *Engliſh*; among whom, the Marriages of the Brother's Wife were uſual, to diſſolve them, looking on them as grievous Sins: Many other Popes, as *Calixtus*, *Zacharias*, and *Innocent* the Third, had given their Judgments, for the perpetual Obligation of thoſe Laws: They had been alſo condemned by the Councils of *Neoceſarea*, *Agde*, and the ſecond of *Toledo*. Among *Wickliff*'s condemned Opinions, this was one, that *The Arguments for the Divorce.*

Book I. 1530. that the Prohibitions of marrying in such degrees, were not founded on the Law of God: For which he was condemned in some English Councils, and these were confirmed by the General Council at *Constance*. Among the Greek Fathers, both *Origen*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, and *Hesychius*; and among the Latins, *Tertullian*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and St. *Austine*, do formally deliver this, as the belief of the Church in their time, that those Laws were Moral, and still in force: *Anselm*, *Hugo de sancto Victore*, *Hildebert*, and *Ivo*, argue very fully to the same purpose, the last particularly, writing concerning the King of *France*, who had married his Brothers Wife, says, it was inconsistent with the Law of God, with which none can dispence; and that he could not be admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put her away. *Aquinas*, and all the School-men, follow these Authorities, and in their way of reasoning, they argue fully for this Opinion; and all that writ against *Wickliff*, did also assert the Authority of those Prohibitions; in particular, *Waldensis*, whose Books were approved by Pope *Martin* the Fifth. All the Canonists did also agree with them, as *Johannes Andreas*, *Panormitan*, and *Ostiensis*; so that Tradition being the only sure Expounder of the Scripture, the Case seemed clear. They also proved, that a Consent without Consummation, made the Marriage compleat, which being a Sacrament, that which followed after in the Right

Right of Marriage, was not neceſſary to make it compleat, as a Prieſt ſaying Maſs conſummates his Orders, which yet were compleat without it. Many Teſtimonies were brought to confirm this; from which it was inferred that the Queen's being married to Prince *Arthur*, tho nothing had followed upon it, made her incapable of a lawful Marriage with the King. And yet they ſhewed what violent Preſumptions there were of Conſummation, which was all that in ſuch Caſes was ſought for; and this was expreſſed both in the Bull and Breve, tho but dubiouſly in the one, yet very poſitively in the other. After that they examined the Validity of the Pope's Diſpenſation. It was a received Maxime, that tho the Pope had Authority to diſpenſe with the Laws of the Church, yet he could not diſpenſe with the Laws of God, which were not ſubject to him: And it had been judged in the *Rota* at *Rome*, when a Diſpenſation was asked for a King to marry his Wives Siſter, that it could not be granted; and when Precedents were alledged for it, it was anſwered, that the Church was to be governed by Laws, and not by Examples; and if any Pope had granted ſuch Diſpenſation, it was either out of Ignorance or Corruption. This was not only the Opinion of the School-men, but of the Canoniſts, tho they are much ſet on raiſing the Pope's Power, as high as is poſſible: And therefore *Alexander* the third, refuſed to grant a Diſpenſation in a like caſe, tho the Parent had

Book I. 1530.

Book I. 1530. sworn to make his Son marry his Brother's Widow; others went further, and said, The Pope could not dispense with the Laws of the Church, which several ancient Popes had declared against, and it was said, that the *fulness of Power*, with which the Pope was vested, did only extend to the pastoral Care, and was not for Destruction, but for Edification; and that as St. *Paul* opposed St. *Peter* to his Face, so had mnay Bishops withstood Popes, when they proceeded against the Canons of the Church. So both *Laurence* and *Dunstan* in *England*, had proceeded to Censures; notwithstanding the Pope's Authority interposed to the contrary; and no Authority being able to make what was a Sin in it self become lawful; every Man that found himself engaged in a sinful course of Life, ought to forsake it; and therefore the King ought to withdraw from the Queen, and the Bishops of *England* in case of refusal ought to proceed to Censures. Upon the whole matter, Tradition was that upon which all the Writers of Controversy, particularly now in the Contests with the *Lutherans*, founded the Doctrine of the Church, as being the only infallible Exposition of the doubtful parts of Scripture; and that being so clear in this matter, there seemed to be no room for any further Debate.

Arguments against it. On the other hand, *Cajetan* was the first Writer, that against the stream of former Ages thought that the Laws of *Leviticus*, were only Judiciary Precepts, binding the

* *Jews*,

Jews, and were not moral: his Reasons were, that *Adam*'s Children must have married in the Degrees there forbidden. *Jacob* married two Sisters; and *Judah*, according to custom, gave his two Sons, and promised a third to the same Woman. *Moses* also appointed the Brother to marry the Brother's Wife when he died without Issue. But a Moral Law is for ever, and in all Cases binding; and it was also said, that the Pope's power reached even to the Laws of God, for he dispensed with Oaths and Vows; and as he had the Power of determining Controversies, so he only could declare what Laws were moral and indispensable, and what were not; nor could any Bishops pretend to judg concerning the extent of his Power, or the validity of his Bulls. Book I. 1530.

To all this, those that writ for the King, answered, That it was strange to see Men who pretended such Zeal against Hereticks, follow their Method, which was to set up private reasonings from some Texts of Scripture, in opposition to the received Tradition of the Church, which was the bottom in which all good Catholicks thought themselves safe; and if *Cajetan* wrote in this manner against the received Doctrin of the Church in one Particular, why might not *Luther* take the same liberty in other Points? They also made distinction in moral Laws, between those that were so from the nature of the thing which was indispensable, and could in no

Book I. Case be lawful; and to this sort, no Degrees, but those of Parents and Children, 1530. could be reduced; other Moral Laws were only grounded upon publick Inconveniencies, and Dishonesty, such as the other Degrees were; for the Familiarities that Persons so nearly related live in, are such, that unless a Terrour were struck in them, by a perpetual Law against such mixtures, Families would be much defiled: But in such Laws, tho God may grant a Dispensation in some particular Cases, yet an Inferiour Authority cannot pretend to it: and some Dispensations granted in the latter Ages, ought not to be set up to ballance the Decisions of so many Popes, and Councils against them, and the Doctrine taught by so many Fathers and Doctors in former times.

Both sides having thus brought forth the strength of their Cause; it did evidently appear, That according to the Authority given to Tradition in the Church of *Rome*, the King had clearly the Right on his side, and that the Pope's Party did write with little sincerity in this matter, being guilty of that manner of arguing from Texts of Scriptures, for which they had so loudly charged the *Lutherans*.

The Queen continued firm to her Resolution, of leaving the matter in the Pope's Hands, and therefore would hearken to no Propositions that were made to her, for referring the matter to the Arbitration of some chosen on both sides.

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A Session of Parliament followed in *January*, in which the King made the Decisions of the Universities, and the Books that were written for the Divorce, be first read in the House of Lords, and then they were carried down by Sir *Thomas More*, and 12 Lords, both of the Spirituality, and Temporality, to the Commons. There were twelve Seals of Universities shewed, and their Decisions were read, first in Latin, and then Translated into English. There were also an hundred Books shewed, written on the same Argument: Upon the shewing these, the Chancellor desired them to report in their Countries, that they now clearly saw, that the King had not attempted this matter of his meer will and pleasure, but for the discharge of his Conscience, and the security of the Succession of the Crown. This was also brought into the Convocation, who declared themselves satisfied, concerning the unlawfulness of the Marriage: but the Circumstances they were then in, made that their Declaration was not much considered; for they were then under the lash. All the Clergy of *England* were sued, as in the case of a *Premunire*, for having acknowledged a Forreign Jurisdiction, and taken out Bulls, and had Suits in the Legatine Court.

A Session of Parliament.

The Kings of *England* did claim such a Power in Ecclesiastical matters, as the Roman Emperours had exercised before the fall of that Empire: Anciently they had

The Laws of England against Bulls from Rome.

Book I. had by their Authority divided Biſhopricks, granted the Inveſtitures, and made Laws, 1531. both relating to Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes & Perſons. When the Popes began to extend their Power, beyond the Limits aſſigned them by the Canons, they met with great oppoſition in *England*, both in the matter of Inveſtitures, Appeals, Legates, and the other Branches of their Uſurpations; but they managed all the Advantages they found, either from the Weakneſs, or ill Circumſtances of Princes, ſo ſteadily, that in Concluſion, they ſubdued the World: And if they had not by their cruel Exactions, ſo oppreſſed the Clergy, that they were driven to ſeek Shelter under the Covert of the Temporal Authority, the World was then ſo over-maſtered by Superſtition and Credulity, that not only the whole Spiritual Power, but even the Temporal Power of Princes, was likely to have fallen into the Pope's hands: But the diſcontented Clergy ſupported the Secular Power, as much as they had before advanced the Papal Tyranny. *Boniface* the 8*th*, had raiſed his Pretentions to that impudent pitch, that he declared, all Power, both Eccleſiaſtical, and Civil, was derived from him, and eſtabliſhed that, as an Article of Faith, neceſſary to Salvation; and he, and his Succeſſors, took upon them, to diſpoſe of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, by their Bulls and Proviſions. Upon which, Laws were made in *England*, reſtraining thoſe Invaſions on the Crown; ſince thoſe Endowments

dowments were made for informing the People of the Law of God, and for Hospitality, and Acts of Charity, which were defeated, as well as the Crown was disinherited by the Provisions which the Popes granted. Therefore they condemned them for the future, but no Punishment being declared for the Transgressors of that Fact, the Courtiers at *Rome* were not frighted at so general a Law; so these Abuses were still continued: But in *Edward* the Third's time, a more severe Law was made, by which, all that transgressed were to be imprisoned, to be fined at pleasure, and to forfeit all their Benefices. By an other Act, they were put out of the King's Protection. Several other Confirmations of this were made, both in that Reign, and under *Richard* the Second; and the former Punishments were extended, not only to the Provisors themselves, but to all that were imployed by them, or took Farms of them: and because Licences might be granted by the King for Aliens, to hold Benefices in *England*, he did bind himself to grant none: Others took both Presentations in *England*, and obtained Provisions from *Rome*, which was likewise condemned. The Right of Presentations was tried, only in the King's Courts; but the Popes had a mind to take the Cognizance of that to their own Courts; upon which, the Parliament considering the great Prejudice the Nation was like to suffer, and the Subjection that the

Book I.

1531. 25. *Ed.* 1.

25. *Ed.* 3.

Book I. Crown would fall under, resolved to provide effectual Remedies; so all the Com-
1531. mons declared, they would live and die
16. *Ric.* 2. with the King, and desired him to examine all the Lords, whether they would uphold the Regality of the Crown. The Temporal Lords declared, they would do it: But the Spiritual Lords made some difficulty; yet in Conclusion, they also promised, they would adhere to the Crown: So a Law passed, that if any purchased, Translations, Excommunications, or Bulls, from *Rome*, that were contrary to the King, or his Crown, they, and all that brought them over, or that received, or executed them, were declared to be out of the King's Protection, and that their Goods and Chattels should be forfeited to the King, and their Persons imprisoned. And because the Proceedings upon this, were by a Writ, called, from the most material Words of it, *Premunire facias*; this Statute carried the name of the Statute of *Premunire*. There was also a Law passed in *Henry* the Fourth's Reign, against some Bulls, which the *Cistertians* had procured, and against the high Rates set on Bulls in the Apostolick Chamber; and whereas the King had been prevailed with, to give Licences for some Bulls, by which the Provisors put the Incumbents out of their Benefices, these were all declared to be of no force, when done in prejudice of the Subjects Rights. The Invasions that both the Popes and Kings made upon Elections,

were

were by another Law condemned, and the Liberty of Elections was again ſet up. But thoſe Kings being more concerned to preſerve their own Prerogative, than the Rights of their People, were often prevailed with, to grant Pardons, and Licences, to thoſe who obtained Proviſions at *Rome*; ſo theſe were all again condemned in *Henry* the Fifth's time. Book I. 1531.

In all this time, the weakneſs of the Papacy, gave Princes ſome Advantages, which they had not in former Ages; for a great while the Popes ſate at *Avignion*, where they were much eclipſed of their former Greatneſs: After that a Schiſm followed between the Popes that ſate at *Rome*, and thoſe that ſtill ſate at *Avignion*; and the Princes of Chriſtendom, being then at liberty, to chooſe which of thoſe they would acknowledg; the Popes durſt not thunder againſt thoſe Laws, as they had done in former times, upon much leſs Provocation. And indeed all the uſe that the Kings made of them, was, to oblige the Proviſors to come and depend on them for their Licence to execute their Bulls; and the King's Authority being joyned with the Popes, it was hard for thoſe who were oppreſſed to reſiſt that double force: Nor was there any vigorous Execution made of thoſe Laws, otherwayes than to draw Mony from the Proviſors: For it fell out in this caſe, what is ordinary on all ſuch occaſions, that Favourites make uſe of good Laws; by which, Power is truſted to the Prince, for the 4. *Hen.* 5.

Protection

Book I. Protection and Security of the Subjects, only for their own ends. It was a ſtrange
1531. weakneſs in the Princes of Chriſtendom, to take ſuch pains as was done at *Conſtance*, for healing the Breach in the Papacy, for while that continued, they reigned in peace; and the Clergy was leſs oppreſſed than formerly: But that being once made up, the Popes were beginning again to raiſe their old Pretentions: And Pope *Martin* the 5*th*, not being willing to engage with ſo high ſpirited a King, as *Henry* the 5*th* was, he took Advantage in the Mi-
6. *Hen.* 6. nority of *Henry* the Sixth's Reign, to propoſe a Repeal of thoſe Laws, and firſt wrote very ſeverely to *Chichely*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for not oppoſing the Statute of Proviſors, that had paſſed in the former Reign; nor ſtanding up for the Rights of St. *Peter*: He therefore exhorted him to imitate his Predeceſſor, *Thomas Becket*; and required him to declare at the next Parliament, the unlawfulneſs of it; and that all who obeyed it, were under Excommunication: He alſo required him to order the Clergy, to preach every where againſt it. Yet *Chichely* did not proceed ſo zealouſly as the Pope expected, and therefore he ſuſpended his Legatine Power. The Archbiſhop appealed upon this from the Pope, to the next General Council, or if none met, to the Tribunal of God: But the Pope wrote alſo to the Clergy, requiring them to do what in them lay, for the repeal of the Statute:

And

And in another Letter to the two Archbishops; in which, in spite to *Chicheley*, *York* is first named; he annulled the Statutes made by *Edward* the Third, and *Richard* the Second; and declared all to be excommunicated that executed them, reserving the absolution of them to himself, unless they were at the point of death: And he required them to publish, and affix this his Monitory Brief. The Archbishop humbled himself to the Pope; and got the other Bishops, and the University of *Oxford*, to write in his Favour to him; which they did, according to the flattering, and vain stile of that Age: In his own Letter he says, he had not opened the Pope's Brief, and so did not know what it contained, being required by the King to bring it to him with the Seals intire. The Pope wrote also both to the King and Parliament, requiring them, under the pains of Excommunication, and Damnation, to repeal those Statutes. Upon the meeting of the next Parliament, the Archbishop, accompanied by several Bishops, and Abbots, went to the House of Commons, and made them a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and to God the things that are Gods*; And exhorted them to repeal those Laws against the Pope's power, in granting Provisors; and with Tears laid out the mischiefs that would follow, if the Pope should proceed to Censures. But the Commons would

Book I
1531.
1427.

Book I. would not repeal those Laws; yet they were left as dead Letters among the Records, for no care was taken to execute them. The Pope was so far satisfied with *Chichely*'s behaviour, that he received him again to favour, and restored to him the Legatine Power. This being hitherto mentioned by none of our Writers, it seemed no impertinent Digression to give this account of it.

1531.

The Clergy sued in a Premunire

Now were those long forgotten Statutes revived, to bring the Clergy into a Snare: It was designed by the terrour of this, to force them into an intire Submission; and to oblige them to redeem themselves by the grant of a considerable Subsidy. They pretended they had erred ignorantly; for the King by his favour to the Cardinal, seemed to consent, if not to encourage that Authority which he then exercised: It was a publick Errour, and so they ought not to be punished for it. To all this it was answered, that the Laws which they had transgressed, were still in force, and so no Ignorance could excuse the Violation of them. The Convocation of *Canterbury* made their Submission, and in their Address to the King, he was called *the Protector, and Supream Head of the Church of England*; but some excepting to that, it was added, *in so far as it is agreeable to the Law of Christ.* This was signed by Nine Bishops, Fifty Abbots and Priors, and the greatest part of the Lower House; and with it they offered the King a Subsidy,

to

to procure his Favour, of an 100000 *l.* and they promiſed for the future, not to make nor execute, any Conſtitutions, without his Licence. The Convocation of *York* did not paſs this ſo eaſily; they excepted to the word *Head*, as agreeing to none but Chriſt: Yet the King wrote them a long expoſtulating Letter, and told them, with what Limitations thoſe of *Canterbury* had paſſed that Title; upon which they alſo ſubmitted, and offered him 18840 *l.* which was alſo well received; and ſo all the Clergy were again received into the King's Protection, and pardoned. But when the King's Pardon was brought into the Parliament, the Laity complained, that they were not included within it; for many of them were alſo obnoxious on the ſame account, in ſome meaſure, having had Suits in the Legatine Court; and they did apprehend, that they might be brought in trouble: And therefore they addreſſed to the King, and deſired to be comprehended within it: But the King told them, his mercy was neither to be reſtrained, nor forced. This put the Houſe of Commons in great trouble; but they paſt the Act: And ſoon after, the King ſent a Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, which was received with great Joy; and they acknowledged, that the King had tempered his Greatneſs with his Clemency, in his way of proceeding in this matter. Book I. 1531.

In this Seſſion, one *Rouſe*, that had poiſoned a great Pot of Porridge, in the Biſhop

Book I. shop of *Rochester*'s Kitchin, of which two had died, and many had been brought near Death, was attainted of Treason, and condemned to be boiled to death; and that was made the Punishment of Poisoning in time to come. By this Act the Parliament made a Crime to be Treason that was not so before, and punished the Person accordingly: which was founded on the Power reserved in the 25*th* of *Edward* the 3*d* to Parliaments, to declare in time coming what Crimes were Treason. This severe Sentence was executed in *Smithfield*; *Rouse* accusing none as his Complices, tho malicious Persons did afterwards impute that Action of his to a design of *Anne Bolleyn* upon *Fisher*'s Life; but his silence under so terrible a Condemnation, shewed he could not charge others with it.

1531. A Poisoner condemned of Treason.

The King departs from the Queen.

After the Sessions of Parliament, new Applications were made to the Queen to perswade her to depart from her Appeal; but she remained fixed in her Resolution, and said, she was the King's lawful Wife, and would abide by it till the Court at *Rome* should declare the contrary. Upon that the King desired her to chuse any of his Houses in the Country to live in, and resolved never to see her more.

A Tumult among the Clergy.

The Clergy were now raising the Subsidy, and the Bishops intended to make the inferiour Clergy pay their share: But upon the Bishop of *London*'s calling some few of them together, on whom he hoped to prevail, and make them set a good Exam-

ple

ple to the reſt, all the Clergy hearing of it, came to the Chapter-houſe and forced their way in, tho the Biſhop's Officers did what they could by Violence to keep them out. The Biſhop made a Speech, ſetting forth the King's Clemency, in accepting ſuch a Subſidy inſtead of all their Benefices, which they had forfeited to him, and therefore deſired them to bear their ſhare in it patiently. They anſwered that they had not meddled with the Cardinal's Faculties, nor needed they the King's Pardon, not having tranſgreſſed his Laws; and therefore ſince the Biſhops and Abbots only were in fault, it was reaſonable that they only ſhould raiſe the Subſidy. Upon this the Biſhop's Officers, and They came to very high Words, and it ended in Blows: But the Biſhop quieted them all he could with good Words, and diſmiſſed them with a Promiſe that none ſhould be brought unto queſtion for what had been then done; yet he complained to *More* of it, and he put many of them in Priſon: But the thing was let fall. Book I. 1531.

The Pope turns to the Intereſt of *France*.

This Year produced a new Breach between the Pope and the Emperour; the Pope pretended to *Modeno* and *Regio* as Fiefs of the Papacy; but the Emperour judged againſt him for the Duke of *Ferrara* Upon this the Pope reſolved to unite himſelf to the Crown of *France*; and *Francis*, to gain him more entirely, propoſed a Match between his ſecond Son *Henry*, and the Pope's Neece, the famous *Catherine de Medici*

Book I. *dici*; which as it wrought much on the Pope's Ambition, ſo it was like to prove a 1532. great ſupport to his Family. *Francis* alſo offered to reſign all his Pretentions in *Italy* to his Son *Henry*, which was like to draw in other Princes to a League with him, who would have been much better pleaſed to ſee a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperour or the King of *France*. The King's Matter was now in a fairer way of being adjuſted; for the Pope's Conſcience being directed by his Intereſts, ſince he had now broken with the Emperour, it was probable he would give the King content. He ſaw the danger of loſing *England*. The Intereſt of the Clergy was much ſunk, and they were in a great meaſure ſubjected to the Crown. *Lutheraniſm* was alſo making a great Progreſs, and the Pope was out of any danger from the Emperour, on whom the whole Power of the *Turkiſh* Empire was now fallen, drawn in, as was believed, by the Practices of *Francis* at the *Port*, tho that did not well agree with his Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*. The Princes of *Germany* took Advantage from this, to make the Emperour conſent to ſome further liberty in matters of Religion, and to ſecure themſelves; they were then alſo entered into a League with *Francis*, for preſerving the Rights of the Empire, unto which King *Henry* was invited. All this raiſed *Francis* again very high; ſo he was the fitteſt Perſon to mediate an Agreement between the King and the Pope, and being himſelf a Lover

Lover of Pleasure, he was the more easily engaged to serve the King in the accomplishment of his Amours. Book I. 1532.

A new Session of Parliament was held, in which the Laity complained of the spiritual Courts, of their way of proceeding *ex Officio*, and not admitting Persons accused to their Purgation. But this was not much considered, by reason of an ill understanding that fell in between the King and the House of Commons. There was a Custom brought in of making such Settlements of Estates, that the Heir was not liable to Wards, and the other Advantages to which the King or the Great Lords had otherwise a Right by their Tenures: So a Bill for regulating that was sent down by the Lords, but the Commons rejected it, which gave the King great Offence; upon that they addressed to the King for a Dissolution, since they had been now obliged to a long Attendance. The King answered them sharply, He said, they had rejected a Bill, in which he had offered a great Abatement of that which he might claim by Law; and therefore he would execute the Law in its utmost severity. He told them he had Patience while his Suit was in dependence, and so they must have likewise. For this Parliament was made up of Men very ill affected to the Clergy, so the King kept it still in being, to terrify the Court of *Rome* so much the more.

A misunderstanding between the King & the House of Commons.

All that was remarkable that past in this Session was an Act against Annats; it sets

An Act against *Annats*.

Book I. forth that they were founded on no Law, they were first exacted to defend Christendom against Infidels, and were now kept up as a Revenue to the Papacy, and Bulls were not granted till they were compounded for: for 800000 Ducats had bin carried out of *England* to *Rome*, on that account since the beginning of the former Reign. The King was bound by his Royal Care of his Subjects to hinder such Oppressions; and therefore all that were provided to great Benefices, were required not to pay *First Fruits* for the future, under the pain of forfeiting all their Goods, and the profits of their Benefices; and those that were presented to Bishopricks were appointed to be consecrated, tho their Bulls were denied at *Rome*, and they were required to pay no more but 5 *per Cent.* of the clear Profits of their Sees. If the Pope should upon this proceed to censures, they required all the Clergy to perform Divine Offices, these notwithstanding. But by an extraordinary Proviso, they referred it to the King to declare at any time between that and Easter next, whether this Act should take place or not: and the King by his Letters Patents declared that it should take place being provoked by the Pope.

1532.

The Pope writes to the King.

In *January* the Pope, upon the motion of the Imperialists wrote to the King, complaining that notwithstanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, yet he had put away his Queen, and kept one *Anne* as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibi-

 tion

tion ſerved on him; therefore he exhorted him to live with his Queen again, and to put *Anne* away. Upon this the King ſent Dr. *Bennet* to *Rome* with a large Diſpatch; in it he complained that the Pope proceeded in that matter upon the Suggeſtion of others, who were ignorant and raſh Men: the Pope had carried himſelf inconſtantly and deceitfully in it, and not as became Chriſt's Vicar: and the King had now for ſeveral Years expected a Remedy from him in vain. The Pope had granted a Commiſſion, had promiſed never to recal it, and had ſent over a Decretal Bull defining the Cauſe. Either theſe were unjuſtly granted, or unjuſtly recalled. If he had Authority to grant theſe things, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much more a Pope, ſince he had recalled them? If he had not Authority to grant them, he did not know how far he could conſider any thing he did. It was plain that he acted more with regard to his Intereſts, than according to Conſcience; and that, as the Pope had often confeſſed his own Ignorance in theſe matters, ſo he was not furniſhed with Learned Men to adviſe him, otherwiſe he would not maintain a Marriage which almoſt all the Learned Men and Univerſities in *England*, *France*, and *Italy*, had condemned as unlawful. He deſired the Pope would excuſe the Freedom he uſed, to which his Carriage had forced him. He would not queſtion his Authority, unleſs he were compelled to it, and would do nothing but reduce it to its firſt and ancient Limits, which was much better than to let

Book I. 1532. The King's Anſwer.

Book I. it run on headlong, and ſtill do amiſs. This high Letter made the Pope reſolve to proceed and end this matter, either by a Sentence, or a Treaty. The King was cited to anſwer to the Queen's Appeal at *Rome* in Perſon, or by Proxy: ſo Sir *Edward Karme* was ſent thither in the new Character of the King's Excuſator, to excuſe the King's Appearance, upon ſuch grounds as could be founded on the Canon Law, and upon the Privileges of the Crown of *England*. *Bonner* that was a forwad and ambitious Man, and would ſtick at nothing that might contribute to his Preferment, was ſent over with him. The Imperialiſts preſſed the Pope much to give Sentence, but all the wiſe Cardinals, who obſerved by the Proceedings of the Parliament, that the Nation would adhere to the King, if he ſhould be provoked to ſhake off the Pope's Yoke, were very apprehenſive of a Breach, and ſuggeſted milder Counſels to the Pope; and the King's Agents aſſured him, that if he gave the King content, the late Act againſt *Annats*, ſhould not be put in Execution.

1532.

The King cited to *Rome*, excuſes himſelf.

Some Cardinals corrupted.

The Cardinal of *Ravenna* was then conſidered as an Oracle for Learning in the Conſiſtory, ſo the King's Agents reſolved to gain him with great Promiſes; but he ſaid, Princes were liberal of their Promiſes, till their turn was ſerved, and then forgot them; ſo he reſolved to make ſure work; therefore he made *Bennet* give him a Promiſe in writing of the Biſhoprick of *Ely*, or the firſt Biſhoprick that fell till that was

* vacant

vacant, and he also engaged that the King should procure him Benefices in *France* to the value of 6000 Ducats a Year, for the Service he should do him in his Divorce. This was an Argument of so great Efficacy with the Cardinal, that it absolutely turned him from being a great Enemy, to be as great a Promoter, of the King's Cause, tho very artificially. Several other Cardinals were also prevailed with, by the same Topicks. The King's Agents put in his Plea of Excuse in 28 Articles, and it was ordered that three of them should be discussed at a hearing before the Consistory, till they should be all examined: But that Court sitting once a Week, the Imperialists, after some of them were heard, procured an Order, that the rest should be heard in a Congregation or Committee of Cardinals, before the Pope, for greater Dispatch: but *Karn* refused to obey this, and so it was referred back to the Consistory. But against this the Imperialists protested, and refused to appear any more. News were brought to *Rome* from *England*, that a Priest that had preached up the Pope's Power, was cast into Prison; and that one committed by the Archbishop for Heresy, appealed to the King as supream Head, which was received and judged in the King's Courts. The Pope made great Complaints upon this: but the King's Agents said, the best way to prevent the like for the future, was to do the King Justice. At this time a Bull was granted for suppressing some Monaste-

BOOK I. 1532.

Book I. ries, and erecting new Bishopricks out of them. *Chester* was to be one, and the Car-
1542. dinal of *Revenna* was so pleased with the Revenue designed for it, that he laid his hand upon it, till *Ely* should happen to fall vacant. In conclusion, the Pope seemed to favour the King's Plea Excusatory, upon which the Imperialists made great Complaints. But this amounted to no more, save that the King was not bound to appear in Person: Therefore the Cardinals that were gained, advised the King to send over a Proxy for answering to the merits of the Cause, and not to lose more time in that Dilatory Plea; and they having declared themselves against the King in that Plea, before the bargain had been made with them, could with the better credit serve him in the other. So the Vacation coming on, it was resolved by the Cardinals neither to admit nor reject the Plea. But both the Pope and the Colledg wrote to the King to send over a Proxy for determining the matter next Winter. *Bonner* was also sent to *England* to assure the King, that the Pope was now so much in the *French* Interest, that he might confidently refer his matter to him; but whereas the King desired a Commission to judg (*in partibus*) upon the place: it was said, that the Point to be judged, being the Pope's Authority to dispense with the King's Marriage, that could not be referred to Legates, but must needs be judged in the Consistory.

At

1532.

A Session of Parliament.

At this time a new Session of Parliament was called in *England*. The Clergy gave in an Answer to the Complaints made of them by the Commons in the former Sessions: But when the King gave it to the Speaker, he complained that one *Temse*, a Member of their House, had moved for an Address to the King, that the Queen might be again brought back to the Court; The King said, it touched his Conscience, and was not a thing that could be determined in that House. He wished his Marriage were good, but many Divines had declared it unlawful. He did not make his Suit out of Lust or foolish Appetite, being then past the Heats of Youth; he assured them, his Conscience was troubled, and desired them to report that to the House. Many of the Lords came down to the House of Commons, and told them, the King intended to build some Forts on the Borders of *Scotland*, to secure the Nation from the Inroads of the *Scots*; and the Lords approving of this, sent them to propose it to the Commons, upon which a Subsidy was voted; but upon the breaking out of the Plague, the Parliament was prorogued, before the Act was finished. At that time the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him he found that the Prelates were but half Subjects; for they swore at their Consecration an Oath to the Pope, that was inconsistent with their Allegiance, and Oath to the King. By their Oath to the Pope, they swore

The Oaths which the Bishops swore both to the Pope and the King.

Book I. to be in no Council againſt him, nor to diſcloſe his Secrets; but to maintain the Papacy,
1522. and the Regalities of S. *Peter* againſt all Men; together with the Rights and Authorities of the Church of *Rome*; and that they ſhould honourably entreat the Legats of the Apoſtolick See, and obſerve all the Decrees, Sentences, Proviſions, and Commandments of that See; and yearly, either in Perſon or by Proxy, viſit the Threſholds of the Apoſtles. In their Oath to the King, they renounced all Clauſes in their Bulls contrary to the King's Royal Dignity, and did ſwear to be faithful to him, and to live and die with him againſt all others, and to keep his Counſel; acknowledging that they held their Biſhopricks only of him. By theſe it appeared that they could not keep both thoſe Oaths, in caſe a Breach ſhould fall out between the King and the Pope. But the Plague broke off the Conſultations of Parliament at this time. Soon after, Sir *Thomas More* ſeeing a Rupture with *Rome* coming on ſo faſt, deſired leave to lay down his Office, which was upon that conferred on Sir *Tho. Audley*. He was ſatisfied with the King's keeping up the Laws formerly made in Oppoſition to the Papal Incroachments, and ſo had concured in the Suit of the *Premunire*; but now the matter went further, and ſo he not being able to keep pace with the Counſels, returned to a private Life, with a Greatneſs of Mind equal to what the ancient *Greeks* or *Romans* had expreſſed on

More quits his Office.

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such Occasions. Endeavours were used to fasten some Imputations on him, in the Distribution of Justice; but nothing could be brought against him, to blemish his Integrity. Book I. 1533.

An Interview between the King of France, & England.

An Enterveiw followed between the Kings of *France* and *England*; to which, *Ann Bolleyn*, now Marchioness of *Pembrook*, was carried; In which, after the first Ceremonies, and Magnificence was over, *Francis* promised *Henry* to second him in his Suit: He encouraged him to proceed to a second Marriage, without more adoe; and assured him, he would stand by him in it: And told him, he intended to restrain the payment of Annats to *Rome*; and would ask of the Pope a Redress of that and other Grievances; and if it was denied, he would seek other Remedies in a Provincial Council. An Enterview was proposed between the Pope and Him; to which he desired the King go with him; and King [redacted] was not unwilling to it, if he could have assurance that his Business would be finally determined. The Pope offered to the King, to send a Legate to any indifferent place out of *England*, to form the Process, reserving only the giving Sentence to himself: And proposed to him, and all Princes, a General Truce, that so he might call a General Council. The King answered, that such was the present State of the Affairs of *Europe*, that it was not seasonable to call a General Council; that it was

Book I. 1530. was contrary to his Prerogative to send a Proxy to appear at *Rome*; That by the Decrees of General Councils, all Causes ought to be judged on the place, and by a Provincial Council; and that it was fitter to judge it in *England*, than any where else: And that by his Coronation Oath, he was bound to maintain the Dignities of his Crown, and the Rights of his Subjects; and not to appear before any forraign Court: So Sir *Thomas Elliot* was sent over with Instructions, to move, that the cause might be judged in *England*: Yet if the Pope had real Intentions of giving the King full Satisfaction, he was not to insist on that: And to make the Cardinal of *Ravenna* sure, he sent him the offer of the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, then vacant. Soon after this, the King married *Ann Bolleyn*; *Rowland Lee* (afterwards Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*) did officiate, none being present but the Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Father, her Mother, and her Brother, and *Cranmer*. It was thought, that the former Marriage being null of it self, the King might proceed to another: And perhaps, they hoped, that as the Pope had formerly proposed this Method, so he would now approve of it. But tho the Pope had joyned himself to *France*, yet he was still so much in fear of the Emperour, that he resolved not to provoke him; and so was not wrought on by any of the Expedients which *Bennet* proposed, which were either to

Nov. 14. *The King marries* Ann Bolleyn.

to judge the Cauſe in *England*, according to the Council of *Nice*; or to refer it to the Arbitration of ſome, to be named by the King, and the King of *France*, and the Pope: for all theſe, he ſaid, tended to the Diminution of the Papal Power. A new Citation was iſſued out, for the King, to anſwer to the Queen's Complaints; but the King's Agents proteſted, that he was a Soveraign Prince, that *England* was a free Church, over which the Pope had no juſt Authority; and that the King could expect no Juſtice at *Rome*, where the Emperours Power was ſo great. Book I. 1532.

At this time, the Parliament met again, and paſt an Act, condemning all Appeals to *Rome*: In it they ſet forth, 'That the 'Crown was Imperial, and that the Na- 'tion was a compleat Body, having full 'Power to do Juſtice in all Caſes, both 'Spiritual, and Temporal: And that as 'former Kings had maintained the Liber- 'ties of the Kingdom againſt the Uſurpa- 'tions of the See of *Rome*; ſo they found 'the great Inconveniencies of allowing 'Appeals in Matrimonial Cauſes; That 'they put them to great Charges, and ac- 'caſioned many Delayes: Therefore they 'enacted, That thereafter thoſe ſhould be 'all judged within the Kingdom, and no 'regard ſhould be had to any Appeals 'to *Rome*, or Cenſures from it: But Sen- 'tences given in *England*, were to have 'their full Effect: and all that exe- 'cuted any Cenſures from *Rome*, were to 1533. *The Parliament condemns Appeals to* Rome.

Book I. 1533. 'to incur the pains of Premunire. Appeals were to be from the Arch-deacon 'to the Bishop; and from him to the Arch-'bishop: And in the Causes that concern-'ed the King, the Appeal was to be to the 'upper House, of Convocation.

Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

There was now a new Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Warham* died the former Year: He was a great Patron of Learning, a good Canonist, and wise States-man; but was a cruel Persecutor of Hereticks, and inclined to believe Fanatical Stories. *Cranmer* was then in *Germany*, disputing in the King's Cause with some of the Emperour's Divines. The King resolved to advance him to that Dignity; and sent him word of it, that so he might make haste over: But a Promotion so far above his Thoughts, had not its common Effects on him: He had a true and primitive Sense of so great a Charge; and instead of aspiring to it, he was afraid of it, & he both returned very slowly to *England*, and used all his Endeavours, to be excused from that Advancement: But this declining of Preferment, being a thing, of which the Clergy of that Age were so little guilty, discovered, That he had Maximes very far different from most Church-men. Bulls were sent for to *Rome*, in order to his Consecration, which the Pope granted, tho it could not be very grateful to him, to send them to one who had so publickly disputed against his Power of dispensing; all the Composition that was payed for them, was, but

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900 Ducats, which was perhaps according to the Regulation, made in the Act againſt Annats. There were ſeveral Bulls ſent over, one, confirming the King's Nomination; a Second, requiring him to accept it; a Third, abſolving him from Cenſures; a Fourth, to the Suffragan Biſhops; a Fifth, to the Dean and Chapter; a Sixth, to the Clergy; a Seventh, to the Laity; an Eighth, to the Tenants of the See, requiring all theſe to receive him to be their Archbiſhop; a Ninth, requiring ſome Biſhops to conſecrate him; the Tenth gave him the Pall; and by the Eleventh, the Archbiſhop of *York* was required to put it on him. The putting all this in ſo many different Bulls, was a good Contrivance, for raiſing the Rents of the Apoſtolick Chamber. On the 30 of *March*, *Cranmer* was conſecrated by the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and St. *Aſaph*. The Oath to the Pope was of hard Digeſtion: So he made a Proteſtation before he took it, that he conceived himſelf not bound up by it in any thing, that was contrary to his Duty to God, to his King, or Country; and he repeated this when he took it; ſo that if this ſeemed too artificial for a Man of his ſincerity; yet he acted in it fairly, and above Board. Book I. 1533.

The Convocation condemns the King's Marriage.

The Convocation had then two Queſtions before them; the firſt was, Concerning the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, and the Validity of the Pope's Diſpenſation; the other was, of Matter of Fact, Whether P. *Arthur* had conſummated the Mar-

Book I. Marriage, or not. For the firſt, the Judg-
ments of 19 Univerſities were read; and
1519. after a long Debate, there being 23 only in the Lower Houſe, 14 were againſt the Marriage, and 7 for it, and two voted dubiouſly. In the upper Houſe, *Stokeſly*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Fiſher*, maintained the Debate long; the one for the Affirmitive, and the other the Negative: At laſt it was carried, *Nemine contradicente*, (the few that were of the other ſide it ſeems withdrawing) againſt the Marriage, 216 being preſent. For the other, that concerned matter of Fact, it was referred to the Canoniſts; and they all, except five or ſix, reported, That the Preſumptions were violent; and theſe in a matter not capable of plain proof, were alwayes received in Law. The ſmal number in the Lower, and the far greater number in the upper Houſe of Convocation, makes it probable, that then, not only Biſhops, but all Abbots, Priors, Deans, and Arch-deacons, ſate in the upper Houſe, for they were all called *Prelates*, and had their Writs to ſit in a General Council, as appears by the Records of the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, and the Council at *Vienna*, and ſo they might well ſit in the upper Houſe: And perhaps the two Houſes of Convocation, were taken from the Patern of the two Houſes of Parliament, and ſo none might ſit in the lower Houſe, but ſuch as were choſen to repreſent the Inferiour Clergy. The Books of Convocation are now loſt, having periſhed in the Fire of *London*; but the Author of

of *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, who lived in that time, is of that great credit, that we may well depend upon his Teſtimony. Book I. 1533.

The Convocation having thus judged in the matter, the Ceremoy of pronouncing the Divorce judicially, was now only wanting. The new Queen began to have a big Belly, which was a great Evidence of her living chaſtly before that with the King. On Eaſter Eve ſhe was declared Queen of *England*. And ſoon after, *Cranmer*, with *Gardiner* (who was made upon *Wolſey*'s death Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) and the Biſhops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, with many Divines and Canoniſts, went to *Dunſtable*; Queen *Katherine* living then near it, at *Ampthil*. The King and Queen were cited; he appeared by Proxy, but the Queen refuſed to take any notice of the Court: So after three Citations, ſhe was declared *Contumax*, and all the Merits of the Cauſe formerly mentioned, were examined. At laſt, on the 23 of *May*, Sentence was given, declaring the Marriage to have been null from the beginning. Among the Archbiſhops Titles in the beginning of the Judgment, he is called, *Legate of the Apoſtolick See*, which perhaps was added to give it the more force in Law. Some days after this, he gave another Judgment, confirming the King's Marriage with Queen *Ann*, and on the firſt of *June* ſhe was Crowned Queen: This was variouſly cenſured. It was ſaid, that in the Intervals of a General Council, the asking the Opini-

Cranmer gives the final Sentence.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

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Book I. ons of so many Universities, and Learned Men, was the only sure way to find out
1533. the Tradition of the Church: And a Provincial Council had sufficient Authority to judge in this Case: Yet many thought, the Sentence dissolving the first Marriage, should have preceded the second: And it being contracted, before the first was Legally annulled, there was great colour given to question the Validity of it. But it was answered, That since the first was judged null of it self, there was no need of a Sentence Declaratory, but only for form: Yet it was thought, either there ought to have been no Sentence past at all, or it should have been before the second Marriage. Some objected, That *Cranmer* having appeared so much against the Marriage, was no competent Judge; but it was said, that as Popes are not bound by the Opinions they held when they were private Men; so he having changed his Character, could not be challenged on that account, but might give Sentence, as Judges decide Causes, in which they formerly gave Counsel: And indeed, the Convocation had judged the Cause, he only gave Sentence in form of Law. The World wondered at the Pope's Stiffness; but he often confessed, he understood not those matters, only he was afraid of provoking the Emperour; or of giving the *Lutherans* advantage to say, that one Pope condemned that, with which another had dispensed. All People admired Q. *Ann*'s conduct,

duct, who in a course of so many Years managed a King's Spirit, that was so violent, in such a manner, as neither to surfeit him with too many Favours, nor to provoke him with too much Rigour; and her being so soon with Child, gave hopes of a numerous Issue: They that loved the Reformation, lookt for better dayes under her Protection; but many Priests, and Friars, both in Sermons and Discourses, condemned the King's Proceedings. The King sent Ambassadours to all Courts, to justify what he had done: He sent also some to Queen *Katherine*, to charge her to assume no other Title, but that of Princess *Dowager*; and to give her hopes of puting her Daughter next in the Succession to the Crown, after his Issue by the present Queen, if she would submit her self to his Will, but she would not yield; she said, she would not take that Infamy on her self; and so resolved, that none should serve about her, that did not treat her as Queen. All her Servants adhered so to her Interest, that no Threatnings nor Promises, could work on them: And the stir which the King kept in this matter, was thought below his Greatness, and seemed to be set on by a Woman's Resentments; for since she was deprived of the Majesty of a Crown, the Pageantry of a Title was not worth the noise that was made about it. The Emperour seemed big with Resentments. The French King was colder then the King expected; yet

Book I. 1533.

Book I. he promised to intercede with the Pope, and the Cardinals, on his account: But
1533. he was now so entirely gained by the Pope, That he resolved not to involve himself in the King's Quarrel, as a Party: And he also gave over the Designs he once had of setting up a Patriarch in *France*; for the Pope granted him so great a Power over his own Clergy, that he could not desire more. With this the Emperour was not a little pleased; for this was like to separate those two Kings, whose Conjunction had been so hurtful to him.

The proceedings at Rome upon it. At *Rome* the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, complained much of the Attempt made on the Pope's Power; since a Sentence was given in *England* in a Process depending at *Rome*; so they prest the Pope to proceed to Censures. But instead of putting the matter past reconciling, there was only Sentence given, annulling all that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had done; and the King was required under the pain of Excommunication, to put things again in the state in which they were formerly; and this was affixed at *Dunkirk*. The King sent a great Embassy to *Francis*, who was then setting out to *Marseilles*, where the Pope was to meet him: Their Errand was to dissuade him from the Journey, unless the Pope would promise to give the King Satisfaction: The King of *France* said, he was engaged in Honour to go on; but assured them, he would mind the King's Concerns, with as much Zeal, as if they were his own.

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In *September* the Queen brought forth a Daughter, the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*; and the King having before declared Lady *Mary* Princess of *Wales*, did now the same for her: Tho since a Son might put her from it, she could not be *Heir Apparent*, but only the *Heir Presumptive* to the Crown. At *Marseilles*, the Marriage was made up between the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Pope's Neece; to whom the Pope gave, besides 100000 Crowns, many Principalities, which he pretended were either Fiefs of the Papacy, or belonged to him in the Rights of the House of *Medici*. The Pope's Historian with some Triumph, boasted, that the Marriage was Consummated that very Night; tho it was thought not credible, that P. *Arthur*, that was Nine Months older than the now Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards *Henry* the Second, did Consummate his. Book I. 1533. Sept. 7. Q. Elizabeth *born.*

There was a secret Agreement made between the Pope and *Francis*, that if King *Henry* would refer his Cause to the Consistory, excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction, as partial, and would in all other things return to his Obedience to the See of *Rome*, then Sentence should be given in his Favours; but this to be kept secret: So *Bonner* not being trusted with it, and sent thither with an Appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, made it with great boldness, and threatned the Pope upon it, with so much Vehemence, that the Pope talked of throw- *The Pope promises to satisfy K. Henry.* *was

Book I. ing him into a Cauldron of melted Lead, or burning him alive: And he apprehending ſome danger fled away privately. But when *Francis* came back to *Paris*, he ſent over the Biſhop of that City, to the King, to let him know what he had obtained of the Pope in his Favours, and the Terms on which it was promiſed: This wrought ſo much on the King, that he preſently conſented to them. And upon that, the Biſhop of *Paris*, tho it was now in the middle of Winter, took Journey to *Rome*; being ſure of the Scarlet, if he could be the Inſtrument of regaining *England*, which was then upon the point of being loſt: What theſe Aſſurances were which the Pope gave, is not certain; but the Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Tonſtal* of *Dureſm*, in a Letter which they wrote on that Occaſion, ſay, that the Pope ſaid at *Marſeilles*, *That if the King would ſend a Proxy to* Rome, *he would give Sentence for him againſt the Queen, for he knew his Cauſe was good and juſt.* Upon the Biſhop of *Paris*'s coming to *Rome*, the matter ſeemed agreed; for it was promiſed, that upon the King's ſending a Promiſe under his hand, to put things in their former ſtate; and his ordering a Proxy to appear for him, Judges ſhould be ſent to *Cambray* for making the Proceſs, and then Sentence ſhould be given. Upon the notice given of this, and of a Day that was prefixt for the return of the Courier, the King diſpatched him with all poſſible haſt; and now the Buſineſs ſeemed at an end. But

1533.

the Courier had a Sea and the *Alps* to pass, and in Winter it was not easy to observe a limited day so exactly: This made that he came not to *Rome* on the prefixed day; upon which, the Imperialists gave out, that the King was abusing the Pope's Easiness; so they prest him vehemently to proceed to a Sentence: The Bishop of *Paris* moved only for a delay of six days, which was no unreasonable time in that Season, and in favours of such a King, who had a Suit depending six Days, and since he had Patience so many Years; the delay of a few days was no extraordinary Favour. But the design of the Imperialists was, to hinder a Reconciliation: for if the King had been set right with the Pope, there would have been so powerful a League formed against the Emperour, as would have broke all his Measures: And therefore it was necessary for his Designes to imbroil them. It was also said, That the King was seeking Delayes, and Concessions, meerly to delude the Pope; and that he had proceeded so far in his Design against that See, that it was necessary to go on to Censures: And the angry Pope was so provoked by them, and by the News that he heard out of *England*, that without consulting his ordinary Prudence, he brought in the matter to the Consistory; and there the Imperialists being the greater number, it was driven on with so much Precipitation, that they did in one day that, which according to Form, should have been done in three. Book I. 1533.

Book I. 1533. 23. March, *But proceeds hastily to a Sentence.*

They gave the final Sentence, declaring, the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine* good; and required him to live with her as his Wife, otherwise they would proceed to Censures. Two days after that, the Courier came with the King's Submission, in due form: He also brought earnest Letters from *Francis*, in the King's Favours. This wrought on all the indifferent Cardinals, as well as those of the French Faction. So they praied the Pope to recall what was done. A new Consistory was called, but the Imperialists prest with greater Vehemence then ever, that they would not give such Scandal to the World, as to recall a definitive Sentence past, of the validity of a Marriage; and give the Hereticks such Advantages by their unsteadiness in matters of that nature: And so it was carried, that the former Sentence should take place; and the Execution of it was committed to the Emperour. When this was known in *England*, it determined the King in his Resolutions, of shaking off the Pope's Yoke, in which he had made so great a Progress, that the Parliament had past all the Acts concerning it, before he had the News from *Rome*: For he judged, that the best way to Peace was, to let them at *Rome* see, with what vigour he could make War. All the rest of the World lookt on astonished, to see the Court of *Rome* throw off *England* with so much scorn, as if they had been weary of the Obedience and Profits of so great

great a Kingdom, and their Proceedings look'd as if they had been secretly directed by a Divine Providence, that designed to draw great Consequences from this Rupture, and did so far infatuate those that were most concerned to prevent it, that they needlesly drew it on themselves. Book I. 1533.

The Arguments used for rejecting the Pope's Power.

In *England* they had been now examining the Foundations on which the Papal Authority was built, with extraordinary Care for some Years; and several Books being then and soon after written on that Subject, the Reader will be able to see better into the Reasons of their Proceedings by a short Abstract of these.

All the Apostles were made equal in the Powers that Christ gave them, and he often condemned their Contests about Superiority, but never declared in St. *Peter*'s Favour. St. *Paul* withstood him to his Face, and reckoned himself not inferour to him. If the Dignity of a Person left any Authority with the City in which he sat; then *Antioch* must carry it as well as *Rome*: and *Jerusalem*, where Christ suffered was to be prefererd to all the World, for it was truly the Mother-Church. Christ said to *Peter*, *Upon this Rock will I build my Church.* The Ancients understood by the *Rock*, either the Confession *Peter* had made, or, which is all one upon the matter, Christ himself; and tho it were to be meant of St. *Peter*, all the rest of the Apostles are also called *Foundations*; that of, *Tell the Church*, was by many Doctors of the Church of *Rome* turned a-

Book I. gainſt the Pope for a General Council. The other Priviledges aſcribed to St. *Peter*, 1533. were either only a precedence of Order, or were occaſioned by his Fall, as that, *Feed my Sheep*, it being a reſtoring him to the Apoſtolical Function. St. *Peter* had alſo a limited Province, the Circumciſion, as St. *Paul* had the Uncircumciſion, that was of far greater extent; which ſhewed that he was not conſidered as the Univerſal Paſtor. In the Primitive Church, St. *Cyprian*, and other Biſhops, wrote to the Biſhops of *Rome*, as to their fellow Biſhop, Colleague and Brother: they were againſt Appeals to *Rome*, and did not ſubmit to their Definition, and in plain Terms aſſerted, that all Biſhops were equal in Power as the Apoſtles had been. It is true, the Dignity of the City made the Biſhops of *Rome* to be much eſteemed; yet in the firſt Council of *Nice*, the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, were declared to have the ſame Authority in the Countries about them, that the Biſhops of *Rome*, had over thoſe that lay about them. It is true, the Eaſt being over-run with *Arrianiſm*, from which the Weſt was better preſerved, the oppreſſed Eaſtern Biſhops did take ſhelter in the Protection the Biſhops of *Rome* gave them; and, as is natural to all People, they magnified that Authority which was ſo uſeful to them. But the ſecond General Council indirectly condemned all Appeals to *Rome*: for it decreed that every Province ſhould be governed by its own Synod,

and

and allowed no higher Appeal but to the Bishops of the Dioceſs. *Conſtantinople* being made the Imperial City, the ſecond and fourth General Council gave it equal Priviledges with *Rome*, becauſe it was *new Rome*: which ſhews that the Dignity of the Sees flowed from the greatneſs of the Cities. The *African* Churches condemned all Appeals to *Rome*, and the Popes, who complained of that, pretended only to a Canon of the Council of *Nice* for it; and then they did not talk of a Divine Right; but ſearch being made into all the Copies of the Canons of the Council, that was found to be a Forgery. When the Emperour *Mauricius* gave the Title, *Univerſal Biſhop*, to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinple*; *Gregory* the Great complained of the Ambition of that Title, which he calls equal to the Pride of *Lucifer*; and ſince *England* received the Faith by thoſe whom he ſent over, it appeared from thence what was the Doctrine of that See at that time, and by conſequence, what where the firſt Impreſſions made on the *Engliſh* in that matter. It is true *Boniface* the third got the ſame Title by *Phocas*'s Grant, and *Boniface* the eighth pretended to all Power both ſpiritual and temporal; but the Progreſs of their Uſurpations, and the Wars raiſed to maintain them, were very viſible in Hiſtory. The Popes ſwore at their Conſecrations to obey the Canons of the eighth firſt General Councils, which are manifeſted againſt Appeals and their Univerſal Juriſdiction; ſmall regard is to be

Book I. 1533.

Book I. 1533. be had to the Decrees of latter Councils, being Cabals pack'd and managed as the Popes pleased. Several Sees, as *Ravenna*, *Milan*, and *Aquileia* pretended Exemption from the Papal Authority. Many English Bishops had asserted that the Popes had no Authority against the Canons, and to that day no Canon the Popes made was binding till it was received; which shewed the Pope's Authority was not believed founded on a divine Authority: and the Contests that the Kings of *England* had with the Pope's concerning Investitures, Bishops doing the King Homage, Appeals to *Rome*, and the Authority of Papal Bulls and Provisions, shewed that the Pope's Power was believed subject to Laws and Custom, and so not derived from Christ and St. *Peter*; and as Laws had given them some Power, and Princes had bin forced in ignorant Ages to submit to their Usurpations, so they might as they saw cause change those Laws, and resume their Rights.

And for the King's Supremacy

The next Point inquired into was, the Authority that Kings had in matters of Religion and the Church. The King of *Israel* judged in all Causes, and *Samuel* called *Saul* the *Head of the Tribes*. *David* made many Rules about the Service at the Temple, and declaring to *Solomon* what his Power was, he told him that the *Priests were wholly at his Command*; and it is also said, that *Solomon appointed the Priests their Charges in the Service of God, and that they departed not from his Commandment in any matter*; he turned out one High-Priest, and put another in

1 Chron. 28. 21.
2 Chron. 8. 14, 15.

in his room. *Jehoshaphat*, *Hezekiah*, and *Josias*, made also Laws about Ecclesiastical Matters. In the New Testament, Christ was himself subject to the Civil Powers, and charged his Disciples not to affect Temporal Dominion. They also wrote to the Churches to be subject to the Higher Powers, and call them *Supream*, and charge every Soul to be subject to them: so in Scripture the King is called *Head* and *Supream*, and *every Soul* is said to be under him, which joyn'd together, makes up this Conclusion, that *He is the supream Head over all Persons.* In the Primitive Church the Bishops only made Rules or Canons, but pretended to no compulsive Authority, but what came from the Civil Magistrate. The Roman Emperours called Councils, presided in them, and confirmed them; and made many Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Matters; so did also *Charles* the Great. The Emperours did also either chuse the Popes themselves, or confirm their Elections. Church-men taking Orders, were not thereby discharged from the Obedience they formerly owed their Princes, but remained still Subjects. And tho the Offices of the Church had peculiar Functions, in which the People were subject to them, that did not deliver them from their Obedience to the King, as a Father's Authority over his Children cuts not off the King's Power over him. They found also that in all times the Kings of *England* had assumed an Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters. *Ina*, *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and

Book I. 1533.

Book I. and *Canetus*, had made many Laws about them; so had also most of the Kings since the Conquest, which appeared particularly in the Articles of *Clarendon*, and the Contests that followed upon them; and from the daies of King *Ina*, they had granted Exemptions to Monasteries from the Episcopal Jurisdiction, down to *William* the Conquerors time: besides many other Acts that clearly imported a Supremacy over all Persons, and in all Causes. But they did at the same time so explain and limit this Power, that it was visible they did not intend to subject Religion wholly to the Pleasure of the King; for it was declared that his Power was only a Coercive Authority, to defend the true Religion, to abolish Heresies and Idolatries, to cause Bishops and Pastors to do their Duties, and in case they were negligent, or would not amend their Faults, to put others in their room. Upon the whole matter, they concluded that the Pope had no Power in *England*, and that the King had an intire Dominion over all his Subjects, which did extend even to the regulating of Ecclesiastical Matters.

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The Clergy submitted to it.

These things being fully opened in many Disputes, and published in several Books, all the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors of *England*, *Fisher* only excepted, were so far satisfied with them, or so much in love with their Preferments, that they resolved to comply with the Changes which the King was resolved to make. *Fisher* was in great esteem for Piety and strictness of Life, and so much

much pains was taken on him. A little before the Parliament met, *Cranmer* propoſed to him, that he, and any five Doctors he would chooſe, and *Stokeſly* with five on his ſide, ſhould confer on that point, and examine he Authorities that were on both ſides; he accepted of it, and *Stokeſly* wrote to him to name time and place, but *Fiſher*'s Sickneſs hindered the Progreſs of that motion. Book I. 1533.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

The Parliament met the 15*th* of *January*, there were but ſeven Biſhops and twelve Abbots preſent, the reſt it ſeems were unwilling to concur in making this change, tho they complied with it when it was made. Every Sunday during the Seſſion, a Biſhop preached at St. *Paul*'s, and declared that the Pope had no Authority in *England*: Before this, they had only ſaid that a General Council was above him, and that the Exactions of that Court, and Appeals to it, were unlawful; but now they went a ſtrain higher, to prepare the People for receiving the Acts then in Agitation. On the 9*th* of *March*, the Commons began the Bill for taking away the Pope's Power, and ſent it to the Lords on the 14*th*, who paſt it on the 20*th* without any diſſent. In it they ſet forth the Exactions of 'the Court of *Rome*, grounded on the 'Pope's Power of diſpenſing; and that as 'none could diſpenſe with the Laws of 'God; ſo the King and Parliament only 'had the Authority of diſpenſing with the 'Laws of the Land; and that therefore 'ſuch Licenſes or Diſpenſations as were 'former-

The Pope's Power taken away.

Book I. 1533. 'formerly in use, should be for the future 'granted by the two Arch-bishops, some 'of these were to be confirmed under the 'Great Seal; and they appointed that there- 'after all Commerce with *Rome* should 'cease. They also declared that they did 'not intend to alter any Article of the Ca- 'tholick Faith of Christendome, or of that 'which was declared in the Scripture neces- 'sary to Salvation. They confirmed all the 'Exemptions granted to Monasteries by the 'Popes, but subjected them to the King's 'Visitation; and gave the King and his 'Council power to examine and reform all 'Indulgences and Priviledges granted by 'the Pope: The Offenders against this 'Law were to be punished according to 'the Statutes of *Premunire*. This Act sub- jected the Monasteries entirely to the King's Authority and put them in no small Confu- sion. Those that loved the Reformation, rejoyced both to see the Pope's Power rooted out, and to find the Scripture made the Standard of Religon.

The Act of the Succession. After this Act, another past in both Houses in six Days time, without any Op- position, 'Settling the Succession of the 'Crown; confirming the Sentence of Di- 'vorce, and the King's Marriage with 'Queen *Anne*, and declaring all Marriages 'within the Degrees prohibited by *Moses* 'to be unlawful: All that had married 'within them were appointed to be divor- 'ced, and their Issue illegitimated; and 'the Succession to the Crown was settled 'upon

'upon the King's Iſſue, by the preſent Queen, or in default of that, to the King's right Heirs, for ever. All were required to ſwear, to maintain the Contents of this Act; and if any refuſed to ſwear to it, or ſhould ſay any thing to the Slander of the King's Marriage, he was to be judged guil ty of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and tobe puniſhed accordingly. The Oath is alſo ſet down in the Journals of the Houſe of Lords; by which, they did not only ſwear Obedience to the King, and his Heirs, by his preſent Marriage; but alſo to defend the Act of Succeſſion, and all the Effects and Contents in it, againſt all manner of Perſons whatſoever; by which they were bound to maintain the Divorce, both againſt the Pope's Cenſures, and the Emperour, if he went about to execute them. Book I. 1533.

At this time, one *Philips* complained to the Houſe of Commons of the Biſhop of *London*, for uſing him cruelly in Priſon, upon Suſpicion of *Hereſy*; the Commons ſent up this to the Lords, but received no Anſwer: So they ſent ſome of their Members to the Biſhop, deſiring him to anſwer the Complaints put in againſt him: But he acquainted the Houſe of Lords with it; and they all with one conſent voted, that none of their Houſe ought to appear, or anſwer to any Complaint at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons. So the Commons let this particular Caſe fall, and ſent up a Bill to which the Lords agreed, regulating the

An Act regulating the proceedings againſt Heretics.

Book I. the Proceedings against Hereticks, 'That
'whereas, by the Statute made by King
1533. '*Henry* the Fourth, Bishops might commit
'Men upon Suspition of *Heresy*; and He-
'resy was generally defined, to be what-
'ever was contrary to the Scriptures, or
'*Canonical Sanctions*, which was liable to
'great Ambiguity; therefore that Sta-
'tute was repealed, and none were to be
'committed for Heresy, but upon a Pre-
'sentment made by two Witnesses: None
'were to be accused for speaking against
'things that were grounded only upon the
'Pope's Canons. Bail was to be taken for
'Hereticks, and they were to be brought to
'their Trials in open Court; and if upon
'Conviction, they did not abjure, or
'were Relapses, they were to be burnt;
'the King's Writ being first obtained.
This was a great check to the Bishop's Tyr-
rany, and gave no small comfort to all that
favoured the Reformation.

The Submission of the Clergy. The Convocation sent in a Submission at the same time, by which they acknowledg-
ed, That all Convocations ought to be assembled by the King's Writ; and pro-
mised upon the *Word of Priests*, never to make, nor execute any Canons, without the King's Assent. They also desired, That since many of the received Canons were found to be contrary to the King's Prerogative, and the Laws of the Land, there might be a Committee named by the King, of 32, the one half out of both Houses of Parliament, and the other of the Clergy,

Clergy, empowered to abrogate or regulate them, as they ſhould ſee Cauſe. This was confirmed in Parliament, and the Act againſt Appeals to *Rome* was renewed; and an Appeal was allowed from the Archbiſhop to the King, upon which the Lord Chancellor was to grate a Commiſſion for a Court of Delegates. A Proviſo was added, that till the Commitee of 32 ſhould ſettle a Regulation of the Canons, thoſe then in force ſhould ſtill take place, except ſuch as were contrary to the King's Prerogative, or the Laws. But this laſt Proviſo, tho it ſeemed reaſonable, to give the Spiritual Courts ſome Rules, till the 32 ſhould finiſh their Work, made, that it came to nothing; for it was thought more for the Greatneſs of the King's Authority; and it ſubjected the Biſhop's Courts more to the Prohibitions of the Temporal Courts, to keep this whole matter in ſuch General Terms, than to have brought it to a Regulation that ſhould be fixed and conſtant. Book I. 1534.

'Another Act paſt, for regulating the 'Elections and Conſecrations of Biſhops; 'condemning all Bulls from *Rome*; and 'appointing that upon a Vacancy, the 'King ſhould grant a Licence for an Election; and ſhould by a miſſive Letter ſignify the Perſon's Name whom he would 'have choſen: And within twelve Days 'after theſe were delivered, the Dean 'and Chapter, or Prior and Convent, were 'required to return an Election of the 'Perſon named by the King, under their *An Act for the Election of Biſhops.*

Book I. 'Seals. The Bishop Elect was upon that
'to swear Fealty; and a Writ was to be
1534. 'issued out for his Consecration in the
'usual manner: After that, he was to do
'Homage to the King, upon which, both
'the Temporalities, and Spiritualities, were
'to be restored; and Bishops were to
'exercise their Jurisdiction as they had
'done before. All that transgressed this
'Act, were made guilty of a premu-
'nire.

A private Act past, depriving Cardinal *Campegio*, and *Jerome de Ghinuccii* of the Bishopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worcester*; the Reasons given for it are, because they did not reside in their Dioceses, for Preaching the Laws of God, and keeping Hospitality, but lived at the Court of *Rome*, and carried 3000 *l.* a Year out of the Kingdom.

The Attainder of the Nun of Kent.

The last Act of a publick Nature, tho relating only to private Persons, of which I shall give an account, was, concerning the Nun of *Kent*, and her Complices: It was the first occasion of shedding any Blood in this Quarrel, and it was much cherished by all the Superstitious Clergy, that adhered to the Queen's Interests, and the Pope's. The Nun, and many of her Complices, came to the Lord's Bar, and confessed the whole matter. Among the Concealers of this Treason, Sir *Thomas More*, and *Fisher*, were named; the former wrote upon that a long Letter to *Cromwel*, giving him a particular account of all the Conver-

sation

ſation he had at any time with the Nun: He acknowledged he had eſteemed her highly, not ſo much out of any regard he had to her Propheſies, but for the Opinion he conceived of her Holineſs and Humility. But he adds, that he was then convinced, *That ſhe was the moſt falſe diſſembling Hypocrite that had been known; and guilty of moſt deteſtable Hypocriſy, and divelliſh diſſembled Falſhood: He alſo believed that ſhe had Communication with an evil Spirit.* Concerning this Letter, a curious Diſcovery has been made. In Queen *Mary*'s time, *More*'s Works were publiſhed; and among them, other Letters of his to *Cromwel*, relating to that long one which he wrote concerning the Nun, were printed; but that was left out, of which *More* kept a Copy, and gave it to his Daughter *Roper*; that Copy was in the MS. out of which the reſt were publiſhed, and out of that I have tranſcribed it. The deſign of ſuppreſſing it, ſeems to be this: It is probable, there might have been ſome thoughts in Queen *Mary*'s time, to Canonize the Nun, ſince ſhe was called a Martyr for her Mother's Marriage; and there was no want of Miracles to juſtify it: Therefore, a Letter ſo plain and full againſt her, was thought fit to be kept out of the way. This Juſtification of *Mores*, prevailed ſo far, that his Name was ſtruck out of the Bill. The Act contains a Narrative of that whole Story, which is in ſhort, this; Book I. 1534.

Elizabeth Barton of *Kent*, fell in ſome

Book I. Trances, (it seems they were Hysterical Fits) and spake such things as made those about her think she was inspired of God. The Parson of the Parish, *Master*, hoping to draw Advantages from this, gave Archbishop *Warham* notice of it, who ordered him to observe her carefully, and bring him an account of what should follow. But she had forgot all that she said in her Fitts, when they were over: Yet the Priest would not let it go so, but perswaded her that she was inspired, and taught her so to counterfeit those Trances, that she became very ready at it. The matter was much noised about; and the Priest intended to raise the credit of an Image of the B. Virgins that was in his Church, that so Pilgrimages and Offerings might be made to it, by her means. He associated to himself one *Bocking*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, and they taught her to say in her Fits, that the B. *Virgin* appeared to her, and told her, she could not be well till she visited that Image. She spake many good Words against ill Life, and spake also against *Heresy*, and the King's Suit of Divorce then depending; and by many strange motions of her Body, she seemed to be inwardly possessed. A day was set for her cure; and before an Assembly of 2000 People, she was carried to that Image; and after she had acted her Fitts all over, she seemed of a sudden quite recovered, which was ascribed to the Intercession of the Virgin, and the Virtue of that Image. She entered into a Religious Life;

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and *Bocking* was her Ghoſtly Father. There were violent Suſpicions of Incontinence between them; but the eſteem ſhe was in, bore them down. Many thought her a Propheteſs; and *Warham* among the reſt. A Book was alſo written of her Revelations, and a Letter was ſhewed all in Letters of Gold; pretended to be writ to her from Heaven, by *Mary Magdalene*. She pretended, that when the King was laſt at *Calais*, ſhe was carried inviſibly beyond Sea, and brought back again; and that an Angel gave her the Sacrament; and that God revealed to her, that if the King went on in his Divorce, and married another Wife, he ſhould fall from his Crown, and not live a Month longer, *but ſhould die a Villain's Death.* Book I. 1534.

Many of the Monks of the Charter-Houſe, and the Obſervant Friers, with many Nuns, and B. *Fiſher*, came to give credit to this, and ſet a great value on her, and grew very inſolent upon it; for Frier *Peyto* preaching in the King's Chappel, at *Greenwich*, denounced the Judgments of God upon him; and ſaid, tho others as lying Prophets deceived him, yet he in the name of God told him, that *Dogs ſhould lick his Blood as they had done* Ahabs. The King bore this patiently; but ordered one Dr. *Corren* to preach next Sunday, and to anſwer all that he had ſaid, who railed againſt *Peyto*, as a Dog and a Traitor. *Peyto* had gone to *Canterbury*, but *Elſton*, a Franciſcan of the ſame Houſe, interrupted

Book V. 1534. him, and called him one of the lying Prophets, that went about to establish the Succession of the Crown by Adultery; and spoke with such Vehemence, that the King himself was forced to command him silence. And yet so unwilling was the King to go to Extremities, that all that was done upon so high a Provocation, was, that they were called before the Council, and rebuked for their Insolence. But the Nun's Confederates publishing her Revelations in all the parts of the Kingdom, she and Nine of her Complices were apprehended in *November* last Year; and they did all without any Rack or Torture, discover the whole Conspiracy, and upon that, were appointed to go to St. *Pauls*; and after a Sermon preached upon that Occasion, by the Bishop of *Bangor*, they repeated their Confession, in the Hearing of the People; and were sent to ly Prisoners in the Tower. But it was given out, That all was extorted from them by Violence; and Messages were sent to the *Nun*, desiring her, to deny all that she had confessed; which made the King judge it necessary to proceed to further Extremities. So she, and six of her chief Complices, were Attainted of Treason: And the Bishop of *Rochester*, and five more, were Attainted of Misprision of Treason. But at the Intercession of Q. *Ann*, (as it is expresst in the Act) all others that had been concerned with her, were pardoned.

This was as black an Imposture as any ever

ever was; and if it had fallen out in a darker Age, in which the World went mad after Visions, the King might have lost his Crown by it. The Discovery of this, disposed all to look on older Stories of the Trances of Monastical People, as Contrivances to serve base ends, and did make way for the ruine of that Order of Men in *England*; but all that was at present done upon it, was, that the Observants were put out of their Houses, and mixt with the other *Franciscans*, and the *Austin* Friers were put in their rooms. When all these Acts were passed, the King gave his Assent to them on the 29*th* of *March*, and prorogued the Parliament till *November*. Book I. 1534.

The Members of both Houses swore to the Oath of Succession on the day of the Prorogation. On the 20*th* of *April*, followed the Execution of the *Nun* and her Complices at Tyburn, where she freely acknowledged her Impostures, and the Justice of the Sentence, and laid the blame on those that suffered with her; who because the thing was profitable to them, praised her much, and tho they knew that all was feigned, yet gave out that it was done by the working of the Holy Ghost; and she concluded her Life, begging both God's and the King's Pardon. Upon the first Discovery of this Cheat, *Cromwell* sent *Fisher*'s Brother to him to reprove him for his Carriage in that Business, and to advise him to ask the King's Pardon for the Encouragement he had given to the *Nun*, which he was confi- *The Oath of Succession sworn.* *Fisher in some Trouble.*

Book I. dent the King would grant him. But *Fisher* excused himself, and said, he had done no-
1534. thing but only tried whether her Revelations were true or not? He confessed that upon the Reports he had heard, he was induced to have a high Opinion of her; and that he had never discovered any Falsehood in her. It is true, she had said some things to him concerning the King's Death, which he had not revealed, but he thought it was not necessary to do it; because he knew she had told it to the King her self; she had named no Person, that should kill the King, but had only denounced it as a Judgment of God on him; and he had reason to think that the King would have been offended with him if he had spoken of it to him; and so he desired to be no more troubled with that matter. But upon that, *Cromwell* wrote him a sharp Letter, he shewed him that he had proceeded rashly in that Affair; being so partial in the matter of the King's Divorce, that he easily believed every thing that seemed to make against it; he shewed him how necessary it was to use great Caution before extraordinary things should be received, or spread about as Revelations; since otherwise the Peace of the World should be in the hands of every bold or crafty Impostor; yet in conclusion, he advises him again to ask the King's Pardon for his Rashness, and he assures him that the King was ready to forgive that, and every thing else, by which he had offended him. But *Fisher*

was

was obſtinate and would make no Submiſſion, and ſo included within the Act, yet it was not executed till a new Provocation drew him into further Trouble. The Secular and Regular Clergy did every where ſwear the Oath of Succeſſion; which none did more zealouſly promote than *Gardiner*; who before the 6th of *May* got all his Clergy to ſwear it: and the Religious Orders being apprehenſive of the King's Jealouſies of them, took care to remove them, by ſending in Declarations under the Seals of their Houſes, that in their Opinion the King's preſent Marriage was lawful, and that they would always acknowledg him *Head of the Church of* England; that the Biſhops of *Rome* had no Authority out of his own Dioceſs, and that they would continue obedient to the King, notwithſtanding his Cenſures; that they would preach the Goſpel ſincerely according to the Scriptures, and the Tradition of the Catholick Doctors, and would in their Prayers pray for the King as Supream Head of the Church of *England*.

Book I. 1534. *And is very obſtinate.*

A meeting of the Council-ſate at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited in order to the ſwearing the Oath; among whom was Sir *Thomas More* and *Fiſher*. *More* was firſt called on to take it: he anſwered that he neither blamed thoſe that made the Acts, nor thoſe that ſwore the Oath, and that he was willing to ſwear to maintain the Succeſſion to the Crown, but could not take the Oath as it was conceived. *Fiſher* made

More *and* he *refuſe the Oath.*

Book I. made the same Answer, but all the rest that were cited before them, took it. *More* 1534. was much press'd to give his Reasons against it; but he refused to do that, for it might be called a disputing against Law: yet he would put them into Writing if the King would command him to do it. *Cranmer* said, if he did not blame those that took it, it seems he was not perswaded it was a Sin, and so was only doubtful of it; but he was sure he ought to obey the Law, if it was not sinful; so there was a Certainty on the one hand, and only a Doubt on the other; and therefore the former ought to determine him: this he confessed did shake him a little, but he said, he thought in his Conscience, that it would be a Sin in him, and offered to take his Oath upon that, and that he was not led by any other Consideration. The Abbot of *Westminster* told him he ought to think his Conscience was misled, since the Parliament was of another Mind; an Argument well becoming a rich ignorant Abbot. But *More* said, if the Parliament of *England* was against him, yet he believed all the rest of Christendom was on his side: In conclusion, both he and *Fisher* declared that they thought it was in the Power of the Parliament to settle the Succession to the Crown, and so were ready to swear to that, but they could not take the Oath that was tendred to them; for by it they must swear to maintain all the Contents in the Act of Succession, and in it the King's former Marriage was declared unlawful; to which they

they could not assent. *Cranmer* press'd that this might be accepted: for if they once swore to maintain the Succession, it would conduce much to the Quiet of the Nation; but sharper Counsels were more acceptable: so they were both committed to the *Tower*, and Pen, Ink, and Paper was kept from them. The old Bishop was also hardly used both in his Cloaths and Diet; he had only Rags to cover him and Fire was often denied him, which was a Cruelty not capable of any Excuse, and was as barbarous as it was imprudent. Book I. 1534.

In Winter another Session of Parliament was held; the first Act that pass'd, declared the King to be the *Supream Head on Earth of the Church of* England, and appointed that to be added to his other Titles; and it was enacted, that he and his Successors should have full Authority to reform all Heresies and Abuses in the Spiritual Jurisdiction. By an other Act they confirmed the Oath of Succession, which had not been specified in the former Act, tho agreed to by the Lords. They also gave the King the first Fruits and Tenthes of Ecclesiastical Benefices, as being the Supream Head of the Church; for the King being put in the Pope's room, it was thought reasonable to give him the Annats, which the Popes had formerly exacted. The Temporalty were now willing to revenge themselves on the Spiritualty, and to tax them as heavily as they had formerly tyrannized over them. Another Act past declaring some things *Another Session of Parliament.*

Book I things Treason; one of these was the denying the King any of his Titles, or the calling him Heretick, Schismatick, or Usurper of the Crown. By another Act, Provision was made for setting up 26 Suffragan Bishops over *England*, for the more speedy Administration of the Sacraments, and the better Service of God: It is also said, they had been formerly accustomed to be in the Kingdom: The Bishop of the Dioceſs was to present two to the King, and upon the King's declaring his choice, the Archbishop was to consecrate the Person, and then the Bishop was to delegate such parts of his Charge to his Care as he thought fitting, which was to last during his Pleasure. These were the same that the Ancients called the *Chorepiscopi*, who were at first the Bishops of some Villages; but were afterwards put under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the next City. They were set up before the Council of *Nice*, and continued to be in the Church for many Ages; but the Bishops devolving their whole Spiritual Power to them, they were put down, and a Decretal Epistle was forged inthe name of *P. Damasus*, condemning them. The great Extent of the Dioceſſes in *England* made it hard for one Bishop to govern them with that Exactness that was necessary; these were therefore appointed to assist them in the discharge of the Pastoral Care.

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In this Parliament Subsidies were granted payable in three Years, with the highest Preamble of their Happiness under the King's

King's Government all those 24 Years, in which he had reigned, that Flattery could dictate. *Fisher* and *More* by two special Acts were attainted of Misprision of Treason; five other Clerks were in like manner condemned, all for refusing to swear the Oath of Succession. The See of *Rochester* was declared void; yet it seems few were willing to succeed such a Man, for it continued vacant two Years. This Severity against them was censured by some as Extream, since they were willing to swear to the Succession in other Terms, so that it was merely a point of Conscience, in which the common Safety was not concerned, at which they stuck, and it was thought the prosecuting them in this manner would so raise their Credit, that it might endanger the Government more than any Opposition which they could make. Book I. 1534.

The Progress the New Doctrines made in England.

But now that the King entered upon a new Scene, it will be necessary to open the Progress that the new Opinions had made in *England* all the time of the King's Suit of Divorce. During *Wolsey*'s Ministry, those Preachers were gently used; and it is probable the King ordered the Bishops to give over their enquiring after them, when the Pope began to use him ill; for the Progress of Heresy was always reckoned up at *Rome* among the Mischiefs that would follow upon the Pope's denying the King's Desires. But *More* coming into Favour, he offered new Counsels; he thought the King's proceeding severely against Heretics

Book I. 1534. ticks would be so meritorious at *Rome*, that it would work more effectually, than all his Threatnings had done: so a severe Proclamation was issued out both against their Books and Persons, ordering all the Laws against them to be put in Execution. *Tindall* and some others at *Antwerp*, were every Year either translating or writing Books against some of the received Errors, and sending them over to *England*. But his Translation of the New Testament gave the greatest Wound, and was much complained of by the Clergy, as full of Errors. *Tonstall* then Bp of *London* being a Man of great Learning and Vertue, which is generally accompanied with much Moderation, returning from the Treaty of *Cambray*, to which *More* and he were sent in the King's Name, as he came through *Antwerp*, dealt with an English Merchant that was secretly a Friend of *Tindall*'s, to procure him as many of his New Testaments as could be had for Mony. *Tindall* was glad of this; for being about a more correct Edition, he found he would be better enabled to set about it, if the Copies of the Old were sold off; so he gave the Merchant all he had, and *Tonstall* paying the Price of them, got them in his hands; and burnt them publickly in *Cheapside*. This was called a burning of the Word of God; and it was said the Clergy had reason to revenge themselves on it, for it had done them more Mischief than all other Books whatsoever. But a Year after this, the second Edition being finished,

finiſhed, great Numbers were ſent over to *England*, and *Conſtantine* one of *Tindall*'s Partners, hapned to be taken; ſo *More* believing that ſome of the Merchants of *London* furniſhed them with Mony, promiſed him his Liberty, if he would diſcover who they were that encouraged and aſſiſted them: ſo he told him the Biſhop of *London* did more than all the World beſides, for he had brought up the greateſt gart of a faulty Impreſſion. The Clergy when they condemned *Tindall*'s Tranſlation, promiſed a new one: but a Year after in a long Condemnation of ſeveral Books that were publiſhed by *Warham*, *Tonſtall*, and other Canoniſts and Divines, they added this, that it was not neceſſary to publiſh the Scripture in Engliſh, and that the King did well not to ſet about it. Book I. 1534.

There came out a Book writ by one *Fiſh* of *Grayes-Inn*, that took mightily, called, the *Supplication of the Beggars*, by which they complained that the Alms of the People were intercepted by the Mendicant Friars, that were an uſeleſs Burden to the Government; they alſo taxed the Pope of Cruelty, for taking no Pity on the Poor, ſince none but thoſe that could pay for it, were delivered out of Purgatory. The King was ſo pleaſed with this, that he would not ſuffer any thing to be done againſt the Author. *More* anſwered it by another Supplication in behalf of the Souls in Purgatory, ſetting forth the Miſeries they were in, and the Relief which they received *The Supplication of the Beggars.*

Book I. 1534. received by the Masses that were said for them, and therefore they called on their Friends to support the Religious Orders, that had now so many Enemies. This was elegantly and wittily written, but did not take so much as the other; for such is the ill nature of Mankind, that Satyres are always better received than Apologies, and no Satyres are more acceptable than those against Church-men.

Frith writes against Purgatory

Frith answered *More* in a Book more gravely written, in which he shewed that there was no mention made of Purgatory in the Scripture, that it was inconsistent with the Merits of Christ, by which upon sincere Repentance, all Sins were pardoned; for if they were pardoned, they could not be punished: And tho Temporary Judgments, either as Medicinal Corrections, or for giving Warning to others, do sometimes fall even on true Penitents; yet terrible Punishments in another state, cannot consist with a free Pardon, and the remembring of our Sins no more. In expounding many Passages of the New Testament, he appealed to *More*'s great Friend, *Erasmus*; and shewed, That *the Fire* which was spoken of by St. *Paul*, as that which would consume *the Wood*, *Hay*, *and Stubble*, could only be meant of the fiery Trial of Persecution. He shewed, That the Primitive Church received it not; *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, and *Austin* did not believe it; the last had plainly said, that no mention was made of it in Scripture. The Monks brought

brought it in; and by many wonderful Stories, poſſeſſed the World of the belief of it; and had made a very gainful Trade of it. This Book provoked the Clergy ſo much, that they reſolved to make the Author feel a real Fire, for endeavouring to extinguiſh their Imaginary one. *More* objected Poverty, and want of Learning, to the new Preachers: But it was anſwered, The ſame thing was made uſe of to diſgrace Chriſt and his Apoſtles; but a plain Simplicity of mind without Artificial Improvments, was rather thought a good Diſpoſition for Men that were to bear a Croſs; and the Glory of God appeared more Eminently, than the Inſtruments ſeemed Contemptible. Book I. 1533.

A Perſecution ſet on by More.

But the Pen proving too feeble, and too gentle a Tool, the Clergy betook themſelves to that, on which they relied more: Many were vexed with Impriſonments for teaching their Children the Lord's Prayer in Engliſh, for harbouring the Preachers, and for ſpeaking againſt the Corruptions in the Worſhip, or the Vices of the Clergy; but theſe generally abjured. One *Hitton*, that had been a Curate, and went over to *Tindall*, was taken coming back with ſome Books; and was by *Warham* condemned and burnt.

1530. Bilney's *Martyrdom.*

Bilney, after his Abjuration formerly mentioned, returned to *Cambridge*, and fell under great Horrour of mind; but overcame it, and reſolved to expiate his Apoſtacy by a publick Acknowledgment: And

Book I. that he might be able to do that on surer Grounds, he followed his Studies close
1530. two Years; for then he left the University, and went into *Norfolk*, where he was born, and preached up and down that County, against Idolatry and Superstition; exhorting the People to live well, to give much Almes, to believe in Christ, and to offer up their Souls and Wills to him in the Sacrament: He openly confessed his own Sin of denying the Faith; and using no Precaution as he went about, he was taken by the Bishops Officers, and was condemned as a Relapse, and degraded. *More* not only sent down the Writ to burn him, but to make him suffer another way; he affirmed in Print that he had abjured: But no Paper signed by him was ever shewed, and little credit was due to the Priests who gave it out, that he did it by word of Mouth: But *Parker* (afterwards Archbishop) was an eye Witness of his Sufferings. He bore all the hardships he was put to, patiently; and continued very cheerful after his Sentence; and eat up the poor Provision that was brought him, heartily; for he said, he must keep up a ruinous Cottage till it fell. He had those Words often in his Mouth, *When thou walkest thorow the Fire, thou shalt not be burnt*: And by burning his Finger in the Candle, he prepared himself for the Fire, and said, it would only consume the Stubble of his Body, but would purify his Soul.

Isaiah.

On the 10*th* of *November* he was burnt.

* At

At the Stake he repeated the Creed, to shew he was a true Christian; for the Clergy made strange Representations of his Doctrine: Then he prayed earnestly, and with a deep sence repeated those Words, *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant.* Dr. *Warner* that waited on him, embraced him, shedding many Tears, and wished that he might die in as good a state as that in which he then was. The Friers desired him to declare to the People, that they had not procured his Death, and he did it; so the last Act of his Life was full of Charity to his Enemies. His Sufferings Animated others. *Byfield* that had formerly abjured, was taken dispersing *Tindall*'s Books, and one *Tewkesbury*, were condemned by *Stokesley*, and burnt. Two Men and a Woman were also burnt at *York*. Upon these Proceedings, the Parliament that sate that Year, complained to the King; but that did not cool the Heat of the Clergy. One *Bainham* a Councellour of the Temple, was taken on Suspicion of *Heresy*, and whipt in *More*'s presence, and afterwards rackt in the Tower: Yet he could not be wrought on to accuse any, but through Fear he abjured. After that, being discharged, he was in great trouble of Mind, and could find no quiet till he went publickly to Church, and openly confessed his Sins; and declared the Torments he felt in his Conscience, for what he had done. Upon this, he was again seized on, and condemned, for having said, 'That *Thomas Becket* was a Murde-'rer, and was damned, if he did not repent: Book I. 1530.

Book I. 'And that in the Sacrament Christ's Body
'was received by Faith, and not chewed
1530. 'with the Teeth. Sentence past upon him by *Stokesly*, and he was burnt. Soon after this, *More* delivered up the Great Seal, so the Preachers had some ease. *Crome* and *Latimer* were accused, but abjured. *Tracy*, (Ancestor to the present Lord *Tracy*) made a Will, by which he left his Soul to God, in hopes of Mercy through Christ, without the help of any other Saint; and therefore he declared, that he would leave nothing for Soul-Masses. This Will being brought to the Bishop of *London's* Court to be proved, after his Death, provoked them so much, that he was condemned as an Heretick; and an Order was sent to the Chancellour of *Worcester*, to raise his Body; but he went further and burnt it, which could not be justified, since he was not a Relapse. *Tracy*'s Heirs sued him for it, and he was turned out of his place, and fined in 400 *l.* The Clergy proclaimed an Indulgence of fourty days Pardon to any that carried a Faggot to the burning of an Heretick, that so Cruelty might seem the more Meritorious. And an aged Man (*Harding*) being condemned by *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, as he was tied to the Stake, one flung a Faggot with such force at him, that it dashed out his Brains.

1533. After an Intermission of two Years, *Gardiner* represented to the King, That it would give him great Advantages against the Pope, if he would take hold of some

occasion to shew his hatred of *Heresy*. So *Frith* seemed a fit Person to offer as a Sacrifice, to demonstrate his Zeal: He was a young Man, much famed for Learning: and was the first that writ against the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, in *England*. He followed *Zuinglius*'s Doctrine on these Grounds; Christ received in the Sacrament, gave Eternal Life; but this was only to those that believed; from which he inferred, that he was received only by Faith. St *Paul* said, that the Fathers before Christ eat the same Spiritual Food with Christians; from which it appears, that Christ is now no more corporally present to us then he was to them: And he argued from the nature of Sacraments in general, and the ends of the Lord's Supper, that it was only a Commemoration. Yet upon these Premises, he built no other Conclusion but that Christ's presence was no Article of Faith. *Frith* put these Reasons in Writing, which falling into *More*'s hands, was answered by him; but *Frith* never saw that till he was put in Prison: And then, tho he was loaded with Irons, and had no Books allowed him, he replied. He insisted much on that Argument, That the Israelites did eat the same Food, and drank of the *same Rock, that was Christ*; and since Christ was only mystically, and by Faith received by them; he concluded, that he was now received only by Faith. He shewed, that Christ's Words, *This is my Body*, were accommodated to the Jewish Phrase of calling the Lamb *the Lord's Pass-*

Book I. 1533. Frith's Sufferings.

Book I. *over*; and confirmed his Opinion with many Paſſages out of the Fathers; in 1533. which, the Elements were called *Signes* and *Figures* of Chriſt's Body; and they ſaid that upon Conſecration they did not ceaſe to be Bread and Wine, *but remained ſtill in their own proper Natures.* He alſo ſhewed, That the Fathers were Strangers to all the Conſequences of that Opinion, as that a Body could be in more places than one at once, or could be in a place after the manner of a Spirit: Yet he concluded, That if that Opinion were held only as a Speculation; ſo that Adoration were not offered to the Elements, it might be well tollerated, but that he condemned as groſs Idolatry. This was intended by him to prevent ſuch Heats in *England*, as were raiſed in *Germany*, between the *Lutherans* and *Helvetians*, by reaſon of their different Opinions concerning the Sacrament. He was ſeized on in *May* 1533, and brought before *Stokesly*, *Gardiner*, and *Longland*. They objected to him his not believing Purgatory, nor Tranſubſtantiation: He gave his Reaſons that determined him to look on neither of theſe as Articles of Faith; but he thought that neither the affirming nor denying them ought to be determined poſitively. The Biſhops ſeemed unwilling to proceed to Sentence; but he continuing reſolute, *Stokesly* pronounced it; and ſo delivered him to the Secular Arm, obteſting, that his Puniſhment might be moderated, ſo that the Rigour might not be too extream; nor yet the gentleneſs of it too much mitigated.

ed. This Obteſtation by the Bowels of Chriſt, was thought a Mockery; when all the World knew that it was intended that he ſhould be burnt. One *Hewet*, a Prentice of *London*, was alſo condemned with him, on the ſame account. When they were brought to *Smithfield*, *Frith* expreſſed great Joy, and hugged the Faggots with ſome Tranſport: *Cook*, a Prieſt, that ſtood by, called to the People not to pray for them more then they would do for a Dog. *Frith* ſmiled at that, and prayed God to forgive him: The Fire was kindled, which conſumed them to aſhes. This was the laſt Inſtance of the Cruelty of the Clergy at this time; for the Act, formerly mentioned, regulating their Proceedings, followed ſoon after. *Philips*, at whoſe Complaint, that Bill was begun, was committed upon Suſpicion of Hereſy; a Copy of *Tracy*'s Will was found about him, and Butter and Cheeſe being alſo found in his Chamber in Lent: But he being required to abjure, appealed to the King as *Supream Head*, and upon that he was ſet at Liberty; but whether he was tried by the King or not, is not upon Record. Book I. 1533.

The Act that was paſt, gave the new Preachers and their Followers, ſome Reſpite. The King was alſo impowered to reform all Hereſies, and Idolatries: And his Affairs did now oblige him to unite himſelf to the Princes of *Germany*, that by their means, he might ſo imbroil the Emperour's Affairs, as not to give him *A ſtop put to further Cruelties.*

Book I. leisure to turn his Arms against *England*; and this produced a slackning of all Severities against them: For those Princes, in that first fervour of the Reformation, made it an Article in all their Treaties, that none should be persecuted for favouring their Doctrine. The Queen did also openly protect them; she took *Latimer*, and *Shaxton* to be her Chaplains, and promoted them to the Bishopricks of *Worcester*, and *Salisbury*. *Cranmer* was fully convinced of the necessity of a Reformation, and that he might carry it on with true Judgment, and justify it by good Authorities, He made a great Collection of the Opinions of the Antient Fathers, and later Doctors, in all the Points of Religion; of which I have seen two Volumes in Folio: But by a Letter of the Lord *Burghly*'s, it appears, there were then six Volumes of his Collections in his hands. He was a Man of great Candor, and much Patience and Industry; and so was on all accounts well prepared for that Work, to which the Providence of God did now call him: And tho he was in some things too much subject to the King's Imperious Temper, yet in the matter of the six Articles, he shewed that he wanted not the Courage that became a Bishop in so Critical an Affair as that was. *Cromwel* was his great and constant Friend; a man of mean Birth, but of excellent Qualities, as appeared in his adhering to his Master *Wolsey*, after his fall; a rare Demonstration of Gratitude

1533.

The Interests the Reformers had at Court.

in

in a Court, to a disgraced Favourite: And in his greatest height, he happening to see a Merchant of *Lucca*, who had pitied and relieved him when he was in *Italy*, but did not so much as know him, or pretend to any returns for the small Favours he had formerly shewed him, and was then reduced to a low condition, treated him with such acknowledgments, that it became the Subjects of several Pens, which strove who should celebrate it most. Book I. 1534.

As these set themselves to carry on a Reformation, there was another Party formed that as vigourously opposed it, headed by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Gardiner*; and almost all the Clergy went into it. They perswaded the King that nothing would give the Pope or the Emperour such Advantages, as his making any Changes in Religion; and it would reflect much on him, if he who had writ so learnedly for the Faith, should in spite to the Pope make any Changes in it. Nothing would encourage other Princes so much to follow his Example, nor keep his Subjects so much in their Duty to him, as his continuing stedfast in the Antient Religion. These things made great Impressions on him. But on the other hand, *Cranmer* represented to him that if he rejected the Pope's Authority, it was very absurd to let such Opinions or Practices continue in the Church, that had no other Foundation but Papal Decrees: and therefore he desired that this might be put to the Trial, he ought

Others oppose it much.

Book I. 1534. ought to depend on God, and hope for good Succeſs if he proceeded in this matter, according to the Duty of a Chriſtian Prince. *England* was a compleat Body within its ſelf; and tho in the *Roman* Empire, when united under one Prince, General Councils were eaſily aſſembled, yet now that was not to be ſo much depended on; but every Prince ought to reform the Church in his Dominions by a National Synod; and if in the Antient Church ſuch Synods condemned Hereſies, and reformed Abuſes, that might be much more done, when *Europe* was divided into ſo many Kingdoms. It was viſible that tho both the Emperour and the Princes of *Germany* had for 20 Years deſired a General Council, it could not be obtained of the Pope; he had indeed offered one at *Mantua*, but that was only an Illuſion.

The Opinion of ſome Biſhops of a General Council.

Upon that the King deſired ſome of his Biſhops to give their Opinion concerning the Emperour's Power of calling Councils: So *Cranmer*, *Tonſtall*, *Clark* of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Goodrick* of *Ely*, made anſwer, That tho Ancient Councils were called by the *Roman* Emperours, yet that was done by reaſon of the Extent of their Monarchy, that was now ceaſed, but ſince other Princes had an entire Monarchy within their Dominions. Yet if one or more of thoſe Princes ſhould agree to call a Council to a good Intent, and deſire the Concurrence of the reſt, they were bound by the Rule of Charity to agree to it: They were alſo of Opinion that none but Biſhops and Prieſts had

had Right to a definitive Voice in matters of Doctrine. Book I.

Cranmer also made a long Speech at that time, setting forth the necessity of a Reformation. It is probable it was in the House of Peers, for it begins; *My Lords* —— 'He 'begun with the Impostures and Deceit 'used by the Canonists and other Courti-'ers at *Rome*. Then he speak to the Au-'thority of a General Councils; he 'shewed that it flowed not from the Num-'ber of the Bishops, but from the matter 'of their Decisions, which were received 'with an Universal Consent, for there 'were many more Bishops at the Council 'of *Arimini*, which was condemned, than 'either at *Nice* or *Constantinople*, which 'were received. Christ had named no 'Head of the whole Church, as God 'had named no Head of the World; but 'that grew up for Orders sake, as there 'were Arch-bishops set over Provinces; yet 'some Popes were condemned for Heresy 'as *Liberius*, and others. If Faith must be 'shewed by Works, the ill Lives of most 'Popes of late shewed that their Faith was to 'be suspected; and all the Priviledges which 'Princes or Synods granted to that See 'might be recalled. Popes ought to submit 'themselves to General Councils, and were 'be tried by them; he shewed what were 'the present Corruptions of the Pope and 'his Court, which needed Reformation: 'The Pope according to the Decree of the 'Council of *Basil* was the Churches Vicar, 'and

1534. *Heads of a Speech of* Cranmers.

Book I. 'and not Christ's; and so was accounta-
'ble to it. The Churches of *France* de-
1534. 'clared the Council to be above the Pope,
'which had been acknowledged by many
'Popes themselves. The Power of Coun-
'cils had also Bounds, nor could they judg
'of the Rights of Princes, or proceed to a
'Sentence against a King; nor were their
'Canons of any force till Princes added
'their Sanctions to them. Councils
'ought also to proceed moderately, even
'against those that held Errors, and ought
'not to impose things indifferent too se-
'verely. The Scriptures, and not Men's
'Traditions, ought to be the Standards of
'their Definitions. The Divines of *Paris*
'held, That a Council could not make a new
'Article of Faith that was not in the Scrip-
'tures; and all Christ's Promises to the
'Church were to be understood with this
'condition, *if they kept the Faith:* therefore
'there was great reason to doubt concer-
'ning the Authority of a Council, some of
'them had contradicted others, and many
'others were never received. The Fathers
'had always appealed to the Scriptures, as
'Superiour in Authority to Councils, by
'which only all Controversies ought to be
'decided; yet on the other hand, it was
'dangerous to be wise in ones own Conceit,
'and he thought when the Fathers all
'agreed in the Exposition of any place of
'Scripture, that ought to be look'd on as
'flowing from the Spirit of God. He
'shewed how little Regard was to be had

'to

'to a Council, in which the Pope presided, Book I.
'and that if any common Error had past
'upon the World, when that came to be 1534.
'discovered, every one was at liberty to
'shake it off, even tho they had sworn to
'maintain that Error: this he applied to
'the Pope's Authority. In conclusion, he promised to entertain them with another Discourse of the Authority that all Bishops had in their Sees, and that Princes had within their Dominions. But I could never recover that, and probably it is lost.

The State of England.

This was the state of the Court after King *Henry* had shaken off the Pope's Power, and assumed a Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Nobility and Gentry were generally well satisfied with the Change; but the Body of the People was more under the Power of the Priests; and they studied to infuse in them great Fears of a Change in Religion. It was said the King was now joyning himself to Hereticks, that both the Queen, *Cranmer*, and *Cromwell* favoured them. It was left free to dispute what were Articles of Faith, and what were only the Decrees of Popes; and Changes would be made under this Pretence, that they only rejected those Opinions which were supported by the Papal Authority. The Monks and Friars saw themselves left at the King's Mercy. Their Bulls could be no longer useful to them. The trade of new Saints, or Indulgences, was near an end; they had also some Intimations

Book I. tions that *Cromwell* was forming a Project for suppressing them; so they thought it
1534. necessary for their own Preservation to imbroil the King's Affairs, as much as was possible; therefore both in Confessions and Discourses, they were infusing into the People a dislike of the King's Proceedings, and this did so far work on them, that if the Emperour's Affairs had been in such a condition, that he could have made War on the King, he might have done it with great Advantage; and found a strong Party in *England* on his side. But the Practices of the Clergy at home, and of Cardinal *Pool* abroad, the Libels that were published, and the Rebellions that were afterwards raised in *England*, wrought so much on the King's Temper, that was naturally imperious and boisterous, that he became too apt to commit Acts of the highest Severity, and to bring his Subjects into Trouble upon the slightest Grounds; and his new Title of Head of the Church, seemed to have encreased his former Vanity, and made him fancy that all his Subjects were bound to regulate their Belief by the measures he set them. He had now raigned 25 Years, in all which time none had suffered for Crimes against the State, but *Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*; (the former was executed in Obedience to his Father's last Commands; the latter fell by Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Malice; he had also been inveigled by a Priest to imagine he had a Right to the

the Crown) but in the last ten Years of his Life, Instances of Severity returned more frequently. The Bishops and Abbots did what they could to free the King of any Jealousies that might be raised in him concerning them; and of their own accord, before any Law was made about it, they swore to maintain the King's Supremacy. The first Act of it was the making *Cromwell* Vicar General, and Visitor of all the Monasteries and Churches of *England*, with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him; he was also empowered to give Commissions subaltern to himself; and all Wills, where the Estate was in value above 200 *l.* were to be proved in his Court. This was afterwards enlarged, and he was made the King's *Vicegerent* in Ecclesiastical Matters, and had the Precedence of all next the Royal Family; and his Authority was in all Points the same, that the Legates had in time of Popery: for as the King's came in the Popes room; so the *Vicegerent* was what the Legates had been. Pains was taken to engage all the Clergy to declare for the Supreamacy. At *Oxford* a publick Determination was made, to which every Member assented, that the Pope had no more Authority in *England*, than any other Forreign Bishop. The *Franciscans* at *Richmond* made some more Opposition; they said, by the Rule of St. *Francis*, they were bound to obey the Holy See. The Bishop of *Litchfield* told them that all the Bishops in *England*, all the Heads of Houses,

Book I. 1534.

Book I. Houſes, and the moſt learned Divines had ſigned that Propoſition. St. *Francis* made 1535. his Rule in *Italy*, where the Biſhop of *Rome* was Metropolitan, but that ought not to extend to *England*: and it was ſhewed that the Chapter cited by them, was not written by him, but added ſince; yet they continued poſitive in their refuſal to ſign it.

A general Viſitation propoſed. It was well known that all the Monks and Friars, tho they complied with the Time, yet they hated this new Power of the King's; the People were alſo ſtartled at it; ſo one Dr. *Leighton*, that had been in the Cardinal's Service with *Cromwell*, propoſed a General Viſitation of all the Religious Houſes in *England*: and thought that nothing would reconcile the Nation ſo much to the King's Supremacy, as to ſee ſome good Effect flow from it. Others thought this was too hardy a Step, and that it would provoke the Religious Orders too much. Yet it was known that they were guilty of ſuch Diſorders, that nothing could ſo effectually keep them in awe as the enquiring into theſe. *Cranmer* led the way to this by a Metropolitical Viſitation, for which he obtained the King's Licence; he took care to ſee that the Pope's Name was ſtruck out of all the Offices of the Church, and that the King's Supremacy was generally acknowledged.

Inſtructions and Injunctions for it. In *October* the General Viſitation of the Monaſteries was begun; which was caſt into ſeveral Precincts: Inſtructions were given

given them, directing them what things to enquire after, as whether the Houſes had the full number according to their Foundation, and if they performed Divine Worſhip in the appointed Hours; what Exemptions they had, what were their Statutes? how their Heads were choſen? and how their Vows were obſerved? Whether they lived according to the Severities of their Orders? how the Maſter and other Officers did their Duties? how their Lands and their Revenues were managed? what Hoſpitality was kept? and what care was taken of the Novices? what Benefices were in their Gift, and how they diſpoſed of them? how the Incloſures of the Nunneries were kept? whether the Nuns went abroad, or if Men were admitted to come to them? how they imploied their time, and what Prieſts they had for their Confeſſors? They were alſo ordered to give them ſome Injunctions in the King's Name, That they ſhould acknowledge his Supremacy, and maintain the Act of Succeſſion, and declare all to be abſolved from any Rules or Oaths that bound them to obey the Pope; and that all their Statutes tending to that, ſhould be razed out of their Books. That the Abbots ſhould not have choice Diſhes, but plain Tables for Hoſpitality; and that the Scriptures ſhoul be read at Meals; that they ſhould have daily Lectures of Divinity; and maintain ſome of every Houſe at the Univerſity. The Abbot was required to inſtruct the Monks in true Religion, and to

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Book I. shew them that it did not consist in outward Ceremonies, but in Cleanness of Heart, 1535. and Purity of Life, and the worshiping of God in Spirit and Truth. Rules were given about their Revenues, and against admitting any under 20 Years of Age. The Visitors were empower'd to punish Offenders, or to bring them to answer before the Visitor General.

The State of the Monasteries in England.

What the Ancient Brittish Monks were is not well known; whether they were governed according to the Rules of the Monks of *Egypt* or *France*, is matter of Conjecture. They were in all things obedient to their Bishops, as all the Monks of the Primitive Times were. But upon the Confusions which the *Gothick* Wars brought upon *Italy*, *Benedict* set up a new Order with more Artificial Rules for its Government. Not long after, *Gregory* the Great raised the Credit of that Order much, by his Books of Dialogues: and *Austin* the Monk being sent by him to convert *England*, did found a Monastery at *Canterbury*, that carried his Name, which both the King and *Austin* exempted from the Arch-bishop's Jurisdiction. But there is great reason to suspect that most of those Antient Charters were forged. After that many other Abbies were founded and exempted by the Kings of *England*, if Credit is due to the Leiger Books or Chartularies of the Monasteries. In the end of the eighth Century, the *Danes* made Descents upon *England*, and finding the most Wealth and the least

least Resistance in the Monasteries, they generally plundered them, in so much that the Monks were forced to quit their Seats, and they left them to the Secular Clergy; so that in King *Edgar*'s time there was scarce a Monk left in all *England*. He was a leud and cruel Prince; and *Dunstan* and other Monks taking Advantage from some horrours of Conscience that he fell under, perswaded him that the restoring the Monastick State, would be matter of great *Merit*; so he converted many of the Chapters into Monasteries: and by the Foundation of the Priory of *Worcester*, it appears he had then founded 47, and intended to raise them to 50, the number of Pardon; tho the Invention of Jubilees being so much later, gives occasion to believe this was also a Forgery. He only exempted his Monasteries from all Payments to the Bishops; but others were exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction. In some only the Precinct was exempted, in others, the Exemption was extended to all the Lands or Churches belonging to them. The latest Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction granted by any King, is that of *Battel* founded by *William* the Conquerour: After this the Exemptions were granted by the Popes, who pretending to an Universal Jurisdiction, assumed this among other Usurpations. Some Abbies had also the Privileg of being Sanctuaries to all that fled to them. The Foundation of all their Wealth, was the belief of Purgatory, and of the Virtue that was

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Book I. in Masses to redeem Souls out of it; and that these eased the Tormentsof departed
1535. Souls, and at last delivered them out of them; so it past among all for a piece of Piety to Parents, and of care for their own Souls and Families, to endow those Houses with some Lands, upon condition that they should have Masses said for them, as it was agreed on more or less, frequently according to the measure of the Gift. This was like to have drawn in the whole Wealth of the Nation into those Houses, if the Statute of *Mortmain* had not put some restraint to that Superstition. They also perswaded the World, that the Saints interceded for them, and would take it kindly at their hands, if they made great Offerings to their Shrines, and would thereupon intercede the more earnestly for them: The credulous Vulgar measuring the Court of Heaven by those on Earth, believed Presents might be of great Efficacy there, and thought the new Favourites would have the most Weight in their Intercessions: So upon every new Canonization there was a new Fit of Devotion towards the last Saint, which made the elder to grow almost out of request. Some Images were believed to have an extraordinary Virtue in them, and Pilgrimages to these were much extolled. There was also great Rivalry among the several Orders, and different Houses of the same Orders, every one magnifying their own Saints, their Images and Relicks most.

The Wealth of these Houses brought them under great Corruptions. They were generally very dissolute, and grosly ignorant. Their Priviledges were become a publick Grievance, and their Lives gave great Scandal to the World; So that, as they had found it easy to bear down the Secular Clergy, when their own Vices were more secret; the begging Friers found it as easy to carry the Esteem of the World from them. These under the Appearance of Poverty, and course Diet, and Cloathing, gained much Esteem, and became almost the only Preachers and Confessors then in the World. They had a General at *Rome*, from whom they received such Directions, as the Popes sent them; so that they were more useful to the Papacy then the Monks had been. They had also the School-Learning in their hands, so that they were generally much cherished. But they living much in the World, could not conceal their Vices so artificially as the Monks had done; and tho several Reformations had been made of their Orders, yet they had all fallen under great Scandal, and a general Disesteem. The King intended to erect new Bishopricks; and in order to that, it was necessary to make use of some of their Revenues. He also apprehended a War from the Emperour, and for that end, he intended to fortify his Harbours, and to encourage Shipping, and Trade, upon which, the Ballance of the World began then to turn: And in order to that, he

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Book I. resolved to make use of the Wealth of those Houses, and thought, the best way 1535. to bring that into his hands, would be to expose their Vices, that so they might quite lose the Esteem they might yet be in with some, and so it might be less dangerous to suppress them. *Cranmer* promoted this much, both because these Houses were founded on gross Abuses, and subsisted by them; and these were necessary to be removed, if a Reformation went on. The Extent of many Dioceses was also such, that one man could not oversee them; so he intended to have more Bishopricks founded, and to have Houses at every Cathedral for the Education of those who should be imploied in the Pastoral Charge. The Visitors went over *England*, and found in many places, monstrous Disorders. The Sin of *Sodom* was found in many Houses; great Factions, and Barbarous Cruelties, were in others; and in some, they found Tools for Coining. The Report contained many abominable things, that are not fit to be mentioned: Some of these were printed, but the greatest part is lost; only a Report of 144 Houses is yet extant.

Some Houses surrendered.

The first House that was surrendered to the King, was *Langden*, in *Kent*; the Abbot was found a Bed with a Whore, who went in the Habit of a Lay Brother: This perhaps made him more willing to give an Example to the rest; so he and ten of his Monks, signed a Resignation of their House

to

to the King. Two other Houſes in the ſame County, *Folkeſton*, and *Dover*, followed their Example. And in the following Year, four other Houſes made the like Surrenders: and theſe were all that I find before the Act of Parliament paſt, for ſuppreſſing the leſſer Monaſteries. Book I. 1536.

Q. *Katherine* was put to much trouble, for keeping the Title, Queen, but bore it reſolutely, and ſaid, That ſince the Pope had judged that her Marriage was good, ſhe would die rather than do any thing in prejudice of it. Her Sufferings begot Compaſſion in the People; and all the Superſtitious Clergy ſupported her Intereſts zealouſly. But now her Troubles ended with her Life. She deſired to be buried among the Obſervant Friers, for they had ſuffered moſt for her. She ordered 500 Maſſes to be ſaid for her Soul; and that one of her Women ſhould go a Pilgrimage to our Lady of *Walſingham*, and give 200 Nobles on her way to the Poor. When ſhe found Death coming on her, as ſhe writ to the Emperour, recommending her Daughter to his care: So ſhe writ to the King, with this Inſcription, *My dear Lord, King, and Husband.* She forgave him all the Injuries he had done her; and wiſh'd him to have regard to his Soul. She recommended her Daughter to his Care, and deſired him to be kind to her three Maids, and to pay her Servants a Years Wages; and ended thus, *mine Eyes deſire you above all things.* She died on the Eighth 1536. *Queen Katherin's Death.*

Book I. of *January*, at *Kimbolton*, in the 50*th* Year of her Age, 33 Years after she came to *England*. She was a Devout and Exemplary Woman: She used to work with her own hands, and kept her Women at work with her. The Severities and Devotions that were known to her Priests, and her Alms-Deeds, joined to the Troubles she fell in, begat a high Esteem of her in all sorts of People. The King complained often of her Peevishness; but that was perhaps, to be imputed, as much to the Provocations he gave her, as to the Sowrness of her Temper. He ordered her to be buried in the Abbey of *Peterborough*, and was somewhat touched with her Death. But Q. *Ann* did not carry this so decently as became a happy Rival.

1536.

In Parliament, the lesser Monasteries suppressed,

In *February* a Parliament met, after a Prorogation of 14 Months. The Act impowering 32 to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws, was confirmed; but no time was limited for finishing it, so it had no effect. The chief business of this Session, was the suppressing of the Monasteries, under 200 *l.* a Year. The Report the Visitors made was read in the two Houses, and disposed them to great easiness in this matter. The Act sets forth the great disorders of those Houses, and the many unsuccessful Attempts that had been made to reform them; so the Religious that were in them, were ordered to be put in the greater Houses, where Religion was better observed, and the Revenues of them were given to the King. Those Houses were much richer

than

than they ſeemed to be; for an abuſe that had run over *Europe*, of keeping the Rents of the Church at their firſt Rates; and inſtead of raiſing them, the exacting great Fines for the Incumbent, when the Leaſes were renewed, was ſo groſs in thoſe Houſes, that ſome rated but at 200 *l.* were in real value worth many Thouſands. By another Act, a new Court was erected, with the Title of *the Court of the Augmentations of the King's Revenue*, conſiſting of a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, 10 Auditors, 17 Receivers, beſides other Officers. The King was alſo empowered to make new Foundations, of ſuch of thoſe Houſes now ſuppreſſed, as he pleaſed, which were in all 370, and ſo this Parliament, after ſix Years Continuance, was now diſſolved. Book I. 1536.

A Convocation ſate at this time, in which, a motion was made for Tranſlating the Bible into Engliſh, which had been promiſed when *Tindal*'s Tranſlation was condemned, but was afterwards laid aſide by the Clergy, as neither neceſſary nor expedient: So it was ſaid, that thoſe, whoſe Office it was to teach People the Word of God, did all they could to ſuppreſs it. *Moſes*, the Prophets, and the Apoſtles, wrote in the Vulgar Tongue: Chriſt directed the People to ſearch the Scriptures; and as ſoon as any Nation was converted to the Chriſtian Religion, the Bible was tranſlated into their Language; nor was it ever taken out of the hands of the People, till the Chriſtian Religion was ſo corrupted, that it

A Tranſlation of the Bible deſigned.

Book I. 1536. it was not safe to trust them with such a *Book*, which would have so manifestly discovered those Errours; and the Legends, as agreeing better with those Abuses, were read instead of the Word of God. So *Cranmer* look'd on the putting the Bible in the People's hands, as the most effectual means for promoting the Reformation; and therefore moved, that the King might be prayed to give order for it. But *Gardiner*, and all the other Party, opposed this vehemently. They said, All the extravagant Opinions then in *Germanny*, rose from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. Some of those Opinions were at this time disseminated in *England*, both against the Divinity, and Incarnation of Christ, and the usefulness of the Sacraments, for which 19 *Hollanders* had been burnt in *England* the former Year. It was therefore said, That during these Distractions, the use of the Scriptures would prove a great Snare: So it was proposed, that instead of them, their might be some short Exposition of the Christian Religion put in the Peoples hands, which might keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church: But it was carried in the Convocation for the Affirmative. At Court, Men were much divided in this Point; some said, if the King gave way to it, he would never be able after that to govern his People, and that they would break into many Divisions. But on the other hand, it was said, That nothing would make the Difference between

between the Pope's Power, and the King's Supremacy, appear more eminently, than if the one gave the People the free use of the Word of God; whereas the other had kept them in Darkness, and ruled them by a blind Obedience. It would be also a great mean to extinguish the Interest that either the Pope or the Monks had in *England*, to put the Bible in the People's hands, in which it would appear, that the World had been long deceived by their Impostures, which had no Foundation in the Scriptures. These Reasons joyned with the Interest that the Queen had in the King, prevailed so far with him, that he gave order for setting about this with all possible haste; and within three Years the Impression of it was finished. At this time, the King was in some Treaty with the *German* Princes, not only for a League in Temporal Concerns, but likewise in matters of Religion. The King thought the *Germans* should have in all things submitted to him; and the Opinion he had of his own Learning, which was perhaps heightned a little with his new Title of *Head of the Church*, made him expect, that they should in all points comply with him. *Gardiner* was then his Ambassadour in *France*, and diswaded him much from any Religious League with them, as that which would alienate the World abroad, and his People at home from him. Book I. 1536.

The Popish Party saw the interest the Queen had in him, was the great Obstacle of *Q.* Ann's *Fall.*

Book I. of their Designes: She grew not only in the Kings Esteem, but in the Love of the
1536. Nation. The last Nine Months of her Life, She gave above 14000 *l.* in Alms to the Poor, and was much set on doing good. Soon after Queen *Katherin*'s Death, she bore a dead Son, which was believed to have made some Impression on the King's mind. It was also considered, that now Queen *Katherine* being dead, the King might marry another, and be set right again with the Pope and the Emperour: And the Issue by any other Marriage would never be questioned; whereas, while Queen *Ann* lived, the ground of the Controversy still remained, and her Issue would be Illegitimated, her Marriage being null from the beginning, as they thought. With these Reasons of State, the King's Affections joyned, for he was now in Love with *Jane Seymour*, whose humour was tempered in a mean, between the Gravity of Queen *Katherine*, and the Pleasantness of Queen *Ann*. The poor Queen used all possible Arts to reinflame a dying Affection; but the King was changed, and instead of being wrought on by her Caresses, he came to look on them as Artifices to cover some other Criminal Affection. Her cheerfulness was not alwayes governed with Decency and Discretion: And her Brother's Wife being jealous of her Husband and Her, possessed the King with her own Apprehensions, and filled his Head with many Stories.

Norris

Norris, *Weſton*, and *Brereton* the King's Servants, and *Smeton* a Muſician, were obſerved to be particularly officious about her. Somewhat was pretended to have been ſworn by the Lady *Wyngfield* at her Death, that determined the King; but there is little light left to judg of that Matter. The King was at Juſts at *Greenwich*, where it was reported, that he was diſpleaſed with the Queen, for letting her Handkerchief fall to one for wiping his Face; but this ſeems to be a Fiction; for a Parliament was ſummoned the day before that, and then it was reſolved to deſtroy her. The King left her, upon which ſhe was confined to her Chamber, and the five before mentioned were ſeized on, and ſent to the *Tower*, and the next day ſhe was carried thither. On the River, ſome Privy Counſellors came to examine her; but ſhe made deep Proteſtations of her Innocence; and as ſhe landed at the *Tower*, ſhe fell down on her Knees, and prayed God ſo to aſſiſt her, as ſhe was free of the Crimes laid to her charge: After this ſhe fell into fits of the Mother, ſometimes ſhe laughed, and at other times ſhe wept exceſſively: She was alſo devout and light by turns; and ſometimes ſhe ſtood upon her Vindication, and at other times ſhe confeſſed ſome Indiſcretions, which ſhe afterwards denied. All the People about her made the moſt of every Word that fell from her, and ſent it immediately to Court. The others that were impriſoned on her account, denied every thing, only

Book I. 1536. *May* 1.

Smeton

Book I. 1536. *Smeton* confeſſed Leudneſs with her. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and others that came to examine her, made her believe that both *Norris* and *Smeton* had accuſed her; but tho that was falſe, yet it had this Effect on her, that it made her confeſs that which did totally alienate the King from her. She acknowledged that ſhe had rallied *Norris*, that he waited for the King's Death, and then thought to have her, which tho he denied, yet upon that ſhe fell out with him. She denied that *Smeton* was ever in her Chamber, but once when he came to play on the Virginals. She inſinuated as if he had made Love to her; for ſeeing him one day penſive, ſhe told him he muſt not expect that ſhe ſhould talk to him, ſince he was ſo mean a Perſon, and he anſwered, A Look would ſerve him. She alſo ſaid, *Weſton* had ſeemed jealous of *Norris*, for being oft in her Chamber, and had declared Love to her, upon which *ſhe defied him.* Whether theſe Confeſſions were real Truths, or the Effects of Imagination and Vapors, cannot be certainly determined at this diſtance. It is probable there had been ſome Levities in her Carriage that were not becoming.

All the Court was now turned againſt her, and ſhe had no Friend about the King but *Cranmer*; and therefore her Enemies procured an Order for him not to come to Court; yet he put all to hazard, and wrote the King a long Letter upon this Critical Juncture; 'He acknowledged that 'if

'if the Things reported of the Queen were 'true, it was the greateſt Affliction that 'ever befel the King, and therefore ex- 'horted him to bear it with Patience and 'Submiſſion to the Will of God: he con- 'feſſed he never had a better Opinion of 'any Woman than of her; and that next 'the King, he was more bound to her, 'than to all Perſons living; and there- 'fore he begged the King's leave to pray 'that ſhe might be found Innocent; he 'loved her not a little, becauſe of the Love 'which ſhe ſeemed to bear to God, and 'his Goſpel; but if ſhe was guilty, all that 'loved the Goſpel muſt hate her, as ha- 'ving given the greateſt Slander poſſible 'to the Goſpel: but he prayed the King 'not to entertain any Prejudice to the Goſ- 'pel on her account, nor give the World rea- 'ſon to ſay, That his Love to it was foun- 'ded on the Power that ſhe had with him. Book I. 1536.

The King's Jealouſy was now too deeply rooted to admit of any Cure, but an extream one: The Indictments were laid in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middleſex*, the former relating to what was done in *Greenwich*. *Smeton* pleaded *Guilty*, and confeſſed he had known the Queen carnally three times; the reſt pleaded *not guilty*; but they were all condemned. *May* 12.

Three days after that, the Queen and her Brother (who was then a Peer) were tried before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as High Steward and a Court of 27 Peers. It has been oft given out to defame her the more, that *May* 15. Her trial.

Book I. 1536. that her own Father ſate and condemned her: but the Record of the Attainder ſhews that is falſe, for he was not of the Number. The Crime charged on her was, That ſhe had procured her Brother and four others to lie with her; and had often ſaid to them, *That the King never had her Heart*; and this was to the Slander of the Iſſue begotten between the King and her, which was Treaſon by the Act that confirmed her Marriage: ſo that Act that was made for the Marriage, was now turned on her to ruine her. They would not now acknowledg her the King's lawful Wife, and therefore they did not found the Treaſon on the known Statute 25*th Edw.* 3. It does not appear what Evidence was brought againſt her: for *Smeton* being already condemned, could not be made uſe of; and his never being brought face to face againſt her, gave great ſuſpition that he was perſwaded to confeſs by baſe Practices. The Evidence, as appears by *Spelman*'s Account of it, that was then a Judg, was only the Declaration of a dead Woman: but whether that was forged or real, can never be known till the great Day diſcovers it. The Judgment in caſe of Treaſon for a Woman, is Burning; but it was given either for that, or beheading at the King's Pleaſure. The Judges complained of this as contrary to Law, but there was a ſecret Reaſon for it, into which they did not penetrate. The Earl of *Northumberland* was one of the Judges, he had been once in Love

love with the Queen, and either ſome return of that, or ſome other Accident made that he fell ſuddenly ſo ill, that he could not ſtay out the Trial; for after the Queen was judged, he went out of the Court before her Brother was tried, who was condemned upon the ſame Evidence. Yet all this did not ſatisfy the enraged King; he reſolved to illegitimate his Daughter, and in order to that to annul his Marriage with the Queen. It was remembred that the Earl of *Northumberland*, had ſaid to Cardinal *Wolſey*, that he had engaged himſelf ſo far with her, that he could not go back, which was perhaps done by ſome Promiſe conceived in Words of the *Future Tenſe*; but no Promiſe, unleſs in the Words of the *Preſent Tenſe*, could annul the Subſequent Marriage. Perhaps the Queen did not underſtand that Difference, or probably the fear of ſo terrible a Death as *Burning*, wrought ſo much on her, that ſhe confeſſed a Contract; but the Earl denied it poſitively, and took the Sacrament upon it, wiſhing that it might turn to his Damnation, if there was ever either Contract or Promiſe of Marriage between them. She was ſecretly carried to *Lambeth*, and confeſſed a Precontract, upon which her Marriage with the King was judged null from the beginning; yet this was ſo little known at that time, that *Spelman* writes of it as a thing only talked of, but it was publiſhed in the next Parliament. Theſe two Sentences contradicted one

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Book I. another; for if she was never the King's Wife, she could not be guilty of Adultery, 1536. for there could be no breach of the Faith of Wedlock, if they were never truly married. But the King was resolved both to be rid of her, and to declare his Daughter by her a *Bastard*.

Her Execution. When she had Intimations given her to prepare for Death; among other things she reflected on her Carriage to Lady *Mary*, to whom she had been too severe a *Step-mother*: So she made one of her Women sit down, and she fell on her Knees before her and charged her to go to Lady *Mary*, and in that Posture, and in her Name, to ask her Forgiveness for all she had done against her. This Tenderness of Conscience seemed to give much Credit to the continual Protestations of her Innocence, which she made to the last. The day before her Death, she sent her last Message to the King, asserting her Innocence, recommending her Daughter to his Care, and thanking him for his advancing her, first to be a Marchioness, then to be a Queen, and now, when he could raise her no higher on Earth, for sending her to be a Saint in Heaven. The day she died the Lieutenant of the *Tower* writ to *Cromwell*, that it was not fit to publish the time of her Execution, for the fewer that were present it would be the better; since he believed she would declare her Innocence at the hour of her Death; for that morning she had made great Protestations of it, when she received

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the Sacrament, and seemed to long for Death, and had great Joy and Pleasure in it; she was glad to hear the Executioner was good, for she said she had a very short Neck, at which she laughed heartily. A little before Noon, she was brought to the place of Execution; there were present some of the Chief Officers and Great Men of the Court; she was, it seems prevailed on out of regard to her Daughter, to make no Reflections on the hard measure she met with, nor to say any thing, touching the Grounds, on which Sentence past against her, only she desired that all would judg the best: she commended the King highly, and so took her leave of the World: She was for some time in her private Devotions, and concluded, *To Christ I commend my Soul*; upon which the Executioner, who was brought from *Calis* on that occasion, cut off her Head, and so little regard was had to her Body, that it was put in a Chest of *Elm-tree*, made to send Arrows into *Ireland*, and was buried in the Chappel in the *Tower*. *Norris* was much dealt with to accuse her, and his Life was promised him if he would do it; but he said he knew she was Innocent, and would die a thousand times rather than defame her: so he and the other three were beheaded, and all of them continued to the last to vindicate her. *Smeton* was hanged, and it was said, that he retracted all before he died; but of that, there is no certainty. Book I. 1536.

Book I. When this was done, it was very variously censured. The Popish Party observed, that she who had supplanted Queen *Katherine*, did now meet with harder measure; her faint way of speaking concerning her Innocence at last, was judged too high a Complement to the King in a dying Woman, and shewed more regard to her Daughter than to her own Honour; yet she writ a Letter to the King in so high a strain both of Wit and Natural Eloquence in her own Justification, that it may be reckoned one of the best composed pieces of that time. In her Carriage it seems there were some Freedoms that became not her Quality, and had encouraged those infortunate Persons to make some Addresses to her, which is never done when there is such difference of Conditions, without some Encouragement is first given. It was said on the other hand, that the King of all Men, had the least reason to suspect her, since after six Years Courtship, he gained nothing from her, before he married her; but the Particulars she confessed, gave much matter for Jealousy, especially in so violent a Man, to work upon; and so it was no wonder if it transported him out of measure. Others condemned *Cranmer* as too obsequious for passing the Sentence annulling the Marriage: yet when she came and confessed a Precontract in Court, he could not avoid the giving Sentence upon it. All that hated the Reformation insulted, and said, it now appeared how

1536. *Censures past upon it.*

bad

bad that Cauſe was, which was ſupported by ſuch a Patron. But it was anſwered, that her Faults could not reflect on thoſe, who being ignorant of them, had deſired her Protection. *Gregory* the Great had courted and magnified *Phocas* and *Brunichild*, after he knew their Villanies; and *Irene* after her barbarous Cruelties, was not a little extolled for her Zeal in the matter of Images. It has ſeemed ſtrange to ſome, that during her Daughter's long and glorious Reign, none writ in Vindication of her Mother, which officious Courtiers are apt to do often without any good Grounds, ſo that Silence was made an Argument of her Guilt, and that ſhe could not be defended. But perhaps that was an effect of the Wiſdom of the Miniſters of that time, who would not ſuffer ſo nice a Point, upon which the Queen's Legitimation depended, to be brought into diſpute. The day after *Anne Boleyn*'s Death, the King married *Jane Seimour*, who gained more upon him, than all his Wives ever did: But ſhe was happy that ſhe did not out-live his Love to her. Book I. 1536.

Lady *Mary* was adviſed upon this turn of Affairs, to make her Submiſſion to the King: ſhe offered to confeſs the Fault of her former Obſtinacy, and in General, to give up her Underſtanding entirely to the King; but that would not ſatisfy, unleſs ſhe would be more particular; ſo at laſt ſhe was prevailed with, to do it in the fulleſt Terms that could be deſired; 'She ac- *Lady Mary's Submiſſion to the King.*

Book I. 1536. 'knowledged the King to be the *Supream* 'Head on Earth under Christ of the 'Church of *England*, and did renounce 'the Bishop of *Rome*'s Authority; and 'promised in all things to be obedient to 'the Laws that were made; which she said 'flowed from her inward Belief, and Judg- 'ment, and in which she would for ever 'continue; and she did also acknowledg 'that the King's Marriage with her Mo- 'ther, was by God's Law and Man's Law 'unlawful and incestuous: all this she writ with her own Hand, and subscribed it, upon which she was again received into Favour; and an Establishment was made for a Family about her, in which 40 *l.* a quarter was all the Allowance for her Privy Purse, so great was the Frugality of that time. Lady *Elizabeth* continued to be educated with great Care, and was so forward, that before she was four Years old, she both wrote a good Hand, and understood *Italian*; for there are Letters extant written by her in that Language to Queen *Jane*, when she was with child, in which she subscribed *Daughter*.

A Parliament meets. On the 8*th* of *June* the Parliament met, which shews that it was summoned before the Justs at *Greenwich*. The Chancellour told them, that the King had called them to settle the Succession of the Crown, in case he should dye without Children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the Act made concerning his Marriage with Queen *Anne*. It seems the Parliament was not at first easily

easily brought to comply with these things; and that it was necessary to take some pains to prepare them to it. For the Bill of Succession, was not put in till the 30*th* of *June*, 'but then it was quickly dispatched without any Opposition: by it the Attainder 'of Queen *Anne* and her Complices is confirmed; both the Sentences of Divorces 'pass'd upon the King's two former Marriages were also confirmed; and the 'Issue by both was illegitimated and for 'ever excluded from claiming the Crown 'by Lineal Descent: And the Succession 'was established on the King's Issue by his 'present Queen, or any whom he might 'afterwards marry. But it not being fit 'to declare who should succeed in default 'of that, lest the Person so named might 'be thereby enabled to raise Commotions, 'in Confidence of the King's Wisdom, and 'Affection to his People, they left it to him 'nominate his Successors, either by Letters 'Patents, or by his last Will signed by his 'Hand, and promised to obey the Persons so nominated by him. It was declared *Treason* to maintain the Lawfulness 'of his former Marriages, or of his Issue 'by them, and it was made not only Treason, but a forfeiture of the Right of 'Succession, if any of those whom the King 'should name in default of others, should 'endeavour to get before them. The *Scots* complained of this Act, and said, their Queen *Dowager*, being King *Henry*'s Eldest Sister, could not be put by her Right, after

Book I. 1536.

Book I. the King's lawful Issue. But by this the King was now made *Master* indeed, and had the Crown put entirely in his Hands, to be disposed of at his Pleasure; and his Daughters were now to depend wholly on him. He had it also in his Power in a great measure to pacify the Emperour by providing, that his Kinswoman might succeed to the Crown.

1536.

Pope Paul the 3d, proposes a Reconciliation with the King.

Pope *Clement* the 7*th*, was now dead, and *Farnese* succeeded by the Name of *Paul* the 3*d*, who, after an unsuccesful Attempt, which he made for reconciling himself with the King, when that was rejected, and *Fisher* was beheaded, thundered out a most terrible Sentence of Deposition against him: Yet now, since both Queen *Katherine* and Queen *Anne*, upon whose account the Breach was made, were out of the way, he thought it a fit time to try what might be done; and ordered *Cassali* to let the King know that he had always favoured his Cause when he was a Cardinal, that he was driven very much against his Mind to pass Sentence against him; and that now it would be easy for him to recover the Favour of the Apostolick See.

Acts against the Pope's Power.

But the King instead of hearkening to the Proposition, got two Acts to be pass'd; 'The one was for the utter extinguishing 'the Pope's Authority; and it was made 'a *Premunire* for any to acknowledg it, or 'to perswade others to it: And a strict 'Charge was given to all Magistrates under 'severe

'severe Penalties to enquire after all Of- Book I.
'fenders. By another all Bulls and all
'Priviledges flowing from them, were de- 1536.
'clared null and void, only Marriages or
'Consecrations made by virtue of them,
'were excepted. All who enjoyed Pri-
'viledges by these Bulls were required to
'bring them into the *Chancery*; upon
'which the Arch-bishop was to make them
'a new Grant of them, and that, being
'confirmed under the Great Seal, was to
'be of full force in Law.

Another Act pass'd explaining an Exception, that was in the Act for the Residence of all Incumbents, by which those who were at the Universities were dispensed with, upon which many went and lived idlely there. It was therefore now declared that none above the Age of fourty, except Heads and publick Readers, should have the Benefit of that *Proviso*, and that none under that Age should be comprehended in it, except they performed their Exercises. Another Act pass'd in Favour of the King's Heirs, if they should Reign before they were of full Age, that they might any time before they were 24, repeal by Letters Patents all Acts made during their Minority. All these things being concluded, the Parliament after it had sate six Weeks, was dissolved.

The Convocation examines some points of Religion.

The Convocation sate at the same time, and was much imployed: for the House of Lords was oft adjourned, because the Spiritual

Book I. ritual Lords were busy in the Convocation. *Latimer* preached the Latine Sermon; he
1536. was the most celebrated Preacher of that time; the Simplicity of his matter, and his Zeal in expressing it, being preferred to more elaborate Compositures. They first confirmed the Sentence of the Divorce of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*. Then the lower House made an Address to the upper House, complaining of 67 Opinions that they found were much spread in the Kingdom: they were either the Tenets of the old Lollards, or the new Reformers, or of the Anabaptists; and many of them were only unsavoury and indiscreet Expressions, which might have flowed from the Heat and Folly of some rash Zealots, who by petulant Jeers, and an Affectation of Wit, had endeavoured to disgrace both the received Doctrines and Rites. They also complained of some Bishops who were wanting in their Duty to suppress such Abuses; which was understood as a Reflection on *Cranmer*, *Shaxton*, and *Latimer*. It was hoped that *Cranmer* was now declining by Queen *Ann*'s Fall; and the other two who were raised by her, would not have stood long, if he had been once disgraced; yet they premised to this a Protestation, that they intended to do nothing that might displease the King, whom they acknowledged to be *their Supream Head*; and they were resolved to obey his Laws, and they renounced the Pope's Authority with all his

his Laws. All these Projects failed, for *Cranmer* was now fully established in the King's Favour; & *Cromwell* was sent to them with a Message from the King, That they should reform the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Rules set down in Scripture, which ought to be preferred to all Glosses or Decrees of Popes. There was one *Alesse* a *Scotch-man*, whom *Cromwell* entertained in his House, and he being appointed to deliver his Opinion, largely shewed that there was no Sacraments instituted by Christ, but Baptism and the Lord's Supper: *Stokesly* answered him in a long Discourse upon the Principles of the School-Divinity; upon which *Cranmer* took occasion to shew the Vanity of that sort of Learning, and the Uncertainty of Tradition: and that Religion had been so corrupted in the latter Ages, that there was no finding out the Truth, but by resting in the Authority of the Scriptures. *Fox* Bishop of *Hereford* seconded him, and told them the World was now awake, and would be no longer imposed on by the Niceties and dark Terms of the Schools; for the Laity now did not only read the Scriptures in the vulgar Tongues, but searched the Originals themselves; therefore they must not think to govern them as they had been in the Times of Ignorance: Among the Bishops, *Cranmer*, *Goodrick*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, *Fox*, *Hilsey*, and *Barlow*, prest a Reformation; but *Lee* Arch-bishop of *York*, *Stokesly*, *Tonstall*, *Gardiner*, Book I. 1536.

Book I. *Gardiner*, *Longland*, and several others opposed it as much: But the Contest had been
1536. sharper, if the King had not sent some Articles to them to be considered of by them; so they whose chief Design it was to recommend themselves to Preferment, by the easiness of their Compliance with him in all Points, did agree on the following Particulars.

Articles of Religion agreed on.

'1. That the Bishops and Preachers 'ought to instruct the People according to 'the Scripture, the three Creeds, and the 'four first General Councils.

'2. That Baptism was necessary to Sal'vation, and that Children ought to be 'baptized for the pardon of Orignial Sin, 'and obtaining the Holy Ghost.

'3. That Penance was necessary to Sal'vation and that it consisted in Confession, 'Contrition, and Amendment of Life, 'with the External Works of Charity, to 'which a lively Faith ought to be joyned; 'and that Confession to a Priest was ne'cessary where it might be had.

'4. That in the *Eucharist* under the forms 'of Bread and Wine, the very Flesh and 'Blood of Christ, was received.

'5. That Justification was the Remissi'on of Sins, and a perfect Renovation in 'Christ, and that not only outward good 'Works, but inward Holiness was abso'lutely necessary: As for the outward 'Ceremonies the People were to be taught, 'that it was meet to have Images in Chur'ches, but they ought to avoid all such

'Super-

'Superſtition as had been uſual in time paſt, Book I.
'and not to worſhip the Image, but only
'God. 2. That they were to honour the 1536.
'Saints, but not to expect thoſe things from
'them which God only gives. 3. That they
'might pray to them for their Interceſſion;
'but all Superſtitious Abuſes were to ceaſe;
'and if the King ſhould leſſen the number
'of Saints Days, they ought to obey him.
'4. That the uſe of the Ceremonies was
'good, and that they contained many My-
'ſtical Significations that tended to raiſe
'the mind towards God, ſuch were Veſt-
'ments in Divine Worſhip, Holy Water,
'Holy Bread, the carrying of Candles,
'and Palms and Aſhes, and creeping
'to the Croſs, and the Hallowing the
'Font, with other Exorciſms. 5. That
'it was good to pray for departed Souls,
'and to have Maſſes and Exequies ſaid for
'them; but the Scriptures having neither
'declared in what Place they were, nor
'what Torments they ſuffered, that was
'uncertain, and to be left to God: there-
'fore all the Abuſes of the Pope's Pardons,
'or ſaying Maſſes in ſuch or ſuch Places, or
'before ſuch Images were to be put away.
These Articles were ſigned by *Cromwel*, the two Arch-biſhops, ſixteen Biſhops, fourty Abbots, and Priors, and fifty of the lower Houſe; to them the King added a Preface, declaring the Pains that he and the Clergy had been at, for the removing the Differences in Religion that were in the Nation, and that he approved of theſe Articles, and required

Book I. 1536. required all his Subjects to accept them with the like Unanimity with which they were consented to; and he would be thereby encouraged to take further Pains in the like Matters for the future.

They are variously censured. When these things were published, those that desired a Reformation, tho they did not approve of every Particular, yet were well pleased to see things brought under Examination; and since some things were at this time changed, they did not doubt but more Changes would follow; they were glad that the Scriptures and the Ancient Creeds were made the Standards of the Faith, without adding Tradition, and that the nature of Justification and the Gospel-Covenant were rightly stated; that the immediate Worship of Images and Saints was condemned, and that Purgatory was left uncertain; but the necessity of Auricular Confession, and the Corporal Presence, the doing Reverence to Images, and praying to Saints, were of hard Digestion to them: yet they were glad to see some grosser Abuses removed, and a Reformation once set on foot. The Popish Party were sorry to see four Sacraments past over in silence; and the Trade about Purgatory put down; and were very apprehensive of the Precedent of bringing matters of Religion under debate, which would bring on other Alterations. When these things were known beyond Sea, the Court of *Rome* made great use of them, to let all Princes see the necessity of adhering to the Holy

Holy See; for no ſooner did *England* depart from that, than it began to change the Doctrine likewiſe. The *Germans* on the other hand, ſaid, This was a Political Daubing, for ſatisfying all Parties; and that it ſavoured not of the Sincerity that became the Profeſſors of True Religion, to allow of ſo many Errours. To this it was anſwered, That our Saviour did not deliver all things to his Diſciples, till they were able to bear them. And the Apoſtles did not aboliſh all the Rites of Judaiſm at once, but by a gentle Progreſs intended to wean thoſe that were converted to the Chriſtian Religion from them. The Clergy were to be drawn by ſlow and eaſy Steps out of their Ignorance and Superſtition; whereas the driving on things with precipitated haſt, might ſpoil the whole Deſign, and alienate thoſe who by ſlower Methods might be gained; and it might alſo much endanger the Peace of the Nation. Book I. 1536.

Other Alterations propoſed.

At the ſame time other things were in Conſultation, tho not finiſhed. *Cranmer* offered ſome *Queries* to ſhew the Cheats that had been put on the World: as that Prieſtly Abſolution without Contrition was of more efficacy than Contrition was without it: and that the People truſted wholly to outward Ceremonies; in which the Prieſts encouraged them becauſe of the gain they made by them: That the exemption of Clergy-men was without good ground; that Biſhops did ordain without due care and previous trial; and that the dignified Cler-

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Book I. gy misapplied their Revenues, and did not reside on their Benefices; he also desired
1536. that the other four Sacraments might be enquired into: but these things were not at this time taken under any further consideration. It is true, Confirmation seems to have been examined: The Method in which they made their Enquiries, was this; the Point to be examined was brought under so many Heads, in the form of Queries; and to these every one gave his Answer with his Reasons: so I find two Papers, the one of *Cranmer*'s, the other of *Stokesly*'s, on this Head; the former runs wholly upon Scripture-Authority, and he thinks it was not instituted by Christ, but was done by the Apostles, by that extraordinary Effusion of the Holy Ghost, that rested on them: The other founds his Opinion for its being a Sacrament, on the Tradition of the Church; but nothing was determined in this point. *Cranmer* did at this time, offer another Paper to the King, exhorting him to proceed to a further Reformation, and that nothing should be determined without clear Proofs from Scripture; for the departing from that Rule, had been the Occasion of all the Errours that had been in the Church. Many things were now acknowledged to be Errours, for which, some not long before, had suffered Death. He therefore proposed several points to be discussed; as whether there was a Purgatory? Whether departed Saints ought to be invocated, or Tradition be believed? Whether Images ought to

to be considered only as Representations of History? And whether it was lawful for the Clergy to marry? He prayed the King not to give Judgment in these points, till he heard them well examined: And for the last he offered, that if those who would defend the lawfulness of it, should not in the Opinion of indifferent Judges, prove their Opinion to be true, they should be willing to suffer Death; but if they proved it, all that they desired was, that the King would leave them to the Liberty which God had allowed them in that matter: But all this was carried no further at this time. Book I. 1536.

The Pope had issued out a Summons for a General Council at *Mantua*, and had cited the King to it: From this, the King did appeal to a General Council, rightly constituted. So a motion being made by *Fox*, that the Convocation should deliver their Sense in this Particular; They drew up a Paper, in which they set forth the great Good that might follow in a General Council rightly called; but that nothing could be more mischievous, than one called on private malice, according to what *Nazianzen* observed of the Councils in his time; And they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince, had sufficient Authority to call one; but that all Princes who had an entire and supream Government over all their Subjects, ought to concur to it. This was signed by them all, on the 20*th* of *July*; and so was the Convocation dismiss'd. Two days before it

Book I. brake up, *Cromwel* was made the King's Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Matters, of 1536. which, some Account was formerly given.

The King protests against a Council called by the Pope.

Soon after this, the King published a long and sharp Protestation, against the Council summoned by the Pope; he denied that he had any Authority to summon any of his Subjects: He shewed that the place was neither proper nor safe; and that no good could be expected from any Council in which the Pope presided, since the regulating his Power was one of the chief occasions that the World had for a Council: And while Christendom was in such Distractions, and the Emperour and the King of *France* were engaged in War, it was not a fit time for one to be called. The Pope had refused it long; and this Conjuncture was chosen, in which the Bishops could not come to it, that so a packt meeting of *Italian* Bishops might do what they pleased, under the name of a General Council: But the World would be no longer cozened. No credit was due to a Pope's safe Conduct, for they had often broken their Oaths, as to himself in particular: And notwithstanding his former kindness to that See, they had been for three Years, stirring up all the Princes in Christendom against him. He protested against all Councils called by the Pope; but declared, He would be ready to concur with other Christian Princes for calling one, when it should be convenient: And in the mean

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while, he would maintain all the Articles of the Faith; and lose his Life and Crown sooner than suffer any of them to be put down. Three Years after this, the King made a new Protestation to the same effect, when the Council was summoned to meet at *Vincenza*. Book I. 1536.

Reginald Pool began at this same time to raise that Opposition to the King, which proved so fatal to all his Family. He was by his Mother descended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth; and was by his Father likewise, the King's near Kinsman. To this high Quality, there was joined a great Sweetness of Temper, and a Disposition for Letters, which the King cherished much, and gave him the Deanry of *Exeter*, and some other Preferments, in order to the carrying on of his Studies, being resolved to advance him to the highest Dignities in the Church. He lived many Years, both at *Paris* and *Padua*. In the latter of these, he joined himself to a Society of Learned Men, that gave themselves much to the Study of Eloquence, and of the Roman Authors, among whom were *Contareno*, *Bembo*, *Caraffa*, and *Sadoletti*, all afterwards honoured with the Scarlet; but *Pool* was esteemed the most Eloquent of of them all. When he was at *Paris*, he first incurred the King's Displeasure, for he refused to joyn with those whom he imploied, in order to the procuring the Determinations of the French Universities for the Divorce. Yet after that, he came *Cardinal Pool writes against the King.*

Book I. to *England*, and was present when the Convocation declared the King to be their 1536. *Supream Head*: And it is probable, that he joined in it, for he kept his Deanry some Years after this, which it is not likely would have been granted him, if he had not done that. The King suffered him after that to go beyond Sea, but could never draw him over again. Some time afterwards, he wrote plainly to the King, that he condemned both his Divorce, and his Separation from the Apostolick See. The King upon that, sent him a Book writ by *Sampson*, Bishop of *Chichester*, in defence of these things, and that set him on writing his Book, *de Unione Ecclesiastica*, which was printed this Year. It was full of sharp Reflections on the King, whom he compared to *Nebuchadnezzar*: It tended much to depress the Regal, and to exalt the Papal Authority. And in Conclusion, he addressed himself to the Emperour, praying him, rather to turn his Arms against the King, than the Turk. It was very Eloquently wrote; but there was little Learning or Reasoning in it; and it was full of Indecencies in the Language, that he bestowed not only on *Sampson*, but on the King. The King required him to come over, but that was not to be expected, after he had made such a step. So he devested him of all his Dignities; but that recommended him to a Cardinal's Hat. *Stokesly*, and *Tonstal*, wrote him a long and learned Letter, in the King's Vindication. *Gar-*

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diner wrote also his Book, *de vera Obedientia*; to which, *Bonner* prefixed a vehement Preface against the Pope's Power, and for justifying the King's Supremacy. The King's anger at *Pool* could not reach him, but it fell Heavy on his Kindred. Book I. 1536.

The lesser Monasteries cited in

Visitors were appointed to survey all the lesser Monasteries: They were required to carry along with them the Concurrence of the Gentry near them, and to examine the estate of their Revenues and Goods, and take Inventories of them; and to take their Seals into their keeping: They were to try how many of the Religious would take Capacities, and return to a Secular Course of Life; and these were to be sent to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or the Lord Chancellour for them; and an Allowance was to be given them for their Journey: But those who intended to continue in that state, were to be sent to some of the great Monasteries that lay next. A Pension was also to be assigned to the Abbot, or Prior, during Life: And of all this, they were to make their report by *Michaelmas*: And they were particularly to examine what Leases had been made all the last Year. The Abbots hearing of what was coming on them, had been raising all the Mony they could; and so it was intended to recover what was made away by ill Bargains. There were great Complaints made of the Proceedings of the Visitors, of their Violencies and Briberies; and perhaps not without rea-

Book I. son. Ten Thousand of the Religious were set to seek for their Livings, with Forty Shillings and a Gown a Man. Their Goods and Plate were estimated at an 100000 *l.* And the valued Rents of their Houses was 32000 *l.* but was really above ten times so much. The Churches and Cloisters were in most places pulled down, and the Materials sold.

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which gave a general Discontent

This gave a general Discontent; and the Monks were now as much pitied, as they were formerly hated. It was thought strange to see the King devour what his Ancestors had dedicated to the Honour of God, and his Saints. The Nobility and Gentry, who provided for their younger Children, or Friends, by putting them in those Sanctuaries, were sensible of their Loss. The People who had been fed at the Abbot's Tables, and as they travelled over the Country, found the Abbies to be places of Reception to Strangers, saw what they were to lose. But the more Superstitious, who thought their Friends must now ly still in Purgatory, without that Relief which the Masses procured them, were out of measure offended at these Proceedings. The Books that were published of the Disorders in these Houses, had no great effect on the People: For it was said, There was no reason to destroy whole Houses for the sake of some vicious Persons, who ought to have been driven out of them, and punished. But to remove this general discontent, *Cromwel* advised the King

King to sell these Lands at very easy Rates, to the Nobility and Gentry, and to oblige them to keep up the wonted Hospitality. This would both be grateful to them, and would engage them to assist the Crown in the Maintenance of the changes that had been made; since their own Interests would be Interwoven with the Rights of Crown; and the commoner sort, whose grudges lay chiefly in their Stomachs, for the want of the good Dinners they used to find, would be easily pacified if these were still kept up. And upon a Clause in the Act empowering the King to found anew, such Houses as he should think fit; there were 15 Monasteries, and 16 Nunneries, new founded. It seems these had been more regular than the rest; so that for a while they were reprived, till the General Suppression came, that they fell with the rest. They were bound to obey such Rules as the King should send them; and to pay him Tenths, and first Fruits. But all this did not so pacify the People, but there was still a great out-cry. The Clergy studied much to inflame the Nation; and built much on this, That an Heretical Prince deposed by the Pope, was no more to be acknowledged, which had been for 500 Years received as an Article of Faith, and was decreed in the same Council, that Established Transubstantiation; and had been received and caried down from *Gregory* the Seventh's time, who pretended, that it was a part of the Papal Power

Book I. 1536.

Book I. 1536. Power to depose Kings, and give away their Dominions, and had it been oft put in Practice in almost all the Parts of *Europe*, and some that had been raisers of great Seditions had been Canonized for it. The Pope had summoned the King to appear at *Rome*, and answer for putting away his Queen and taking another Wife, for the Laws he had made against the Church, and for putting the Bishop of *Rochester* and others to death for their not obeying them; if he did not appear nor reform these things, he excommunicated and deprived him, absolved his Subjects from their Obedience, dissolved his Leagues with Forreign Princes, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict. But tho the force of these Thunders was in this Age much abated, yet they had not quite lost their Strength; and the Clergy resolved to make the most of them that could be.

Injunctions given by the King.

Some Injunctions which were given by *Cromwell*, increased this ill Disposition. They were to this Effect: All Church-men were required every Sunday for a quarter of a Year, and twice every Quarter after that, to preach against the Pope's Power, and assert the King's Supremacy, and to explain the Articles lately set forth by the Convocation; and to publish the Abrogation of some Holy-days in Harvest time: They were no more to extol Images, Relicks, or Pilgrimages; but to exhort the People to do Works of Charity instead of them: And they were required to teach the People the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the

the Ten Commandments in English, and to explain these carefully, and instruct the Children well in them. They were to perform the Divine Offices reverently, and to have good Curats to supply their rooms when they were absent. They were charged not to go to Ale-houses, or sit too long at Games; but to study the Scriptures much, and be exemplary in their Lives: Those that did not reside, were to give the fortieth part of their Income to the Poor, and for every 100 *l.* a year that any had, they were to maintain a Scholar at some Gramar-School, or the University: and if the Parsonage-house was in decay, they were ordered to apply a fifth part of their Benefice for repairing it. Such as did not obey these Injunctions, were to be suspended, and their mean Profits were to be sequestred. The Clergy detested this Precedent of the King's giving Injunctions without the Concurrence of a Convocation, and by which, they said, they would be made Slaves to his *Vicegerent*: they also complained of those heavy Taxes that were laid on them, and that Images, Relicks, and Pilgrimages would be now brought under great Contempt. Both the Secular and Regular Clergy were so sensibly concerned in these things, that they inflamed the People all they could. The great Abbots were not wanting for their share to set that on, they were now oppressed with the Crouds of those who were sent to them from the suppressed Houses, and they

Book I. 1536.

Book I. 1536. they expected to fall next; nor were their Fears removed by a Letter that was sent about in the King's Name for silencing all Reports that were given out of his Intentions to suppress them; this rather encreased than lessened their Jealousie.

A Rebellion in Lincolnshire.

The People continned quiet till they had reaped their Harvest, but in the beginning of *October* 20000 rose in *Lincolnshire*, led by a Priest, disguised into a Cobler. They took an Oath to be true to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and sent a Paper of their Grievances to the King. They 'complained of some Acts of Parliament, 'of the suppressing of many Religious 'Houses, of mean and ill Counsellours, 'and bad Bishops; and prayed the King 'to address their Grievances by the Ad-'vice of the Nobility: but yet they ac-'knowledged him to be their Supream 'Head, and that the Tenths and first 'Fruits of Livings belonged to him of right. The King sent the Duke of *Suffolk* to raise Forces against them, and gave an Answer to their Petition. 'He said it belonged 'not to the Rabble to direct Princes what 'Counsellours they should choose. The 'Religious Houses were suppress by Law, 'and the Heads of them had under their 'Hands confessed such horrid Scandals, 'that they were a Reproach to the Nation; 'and since in many of them there were 'not above four, and that they wasted 'their Rents in riotous living, it was much 'better to apply them to the common good

'of

'of the Nation, than leave them in such Book I.
'hands; he required them to submit to
'his Mercy, and to put two hundred of 1536.
'their Leaders into the hands of his Lieu-
'tenants. The Clergy having brought so many together, did all they could to put Heat and Spirit in them, they perswaded them that if they did not maintain their Faith and their Liberties, both would be lost. Some of the Gentry were forced to joyn with them for their own Preservation; and they sent Advices to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to procure from the King, the offer of a General Pardon, which would effectually dissipate them.

Another in York-shire.

At the same time there was a more formidable rising in *York-shire*, which being in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*, was like to draw Assistance from that Kingdom: tho their King was then gone into *France*, to marry *Francis*'s Daughter; this inclined the King to make more haste to settle matters in *Lincolnshire*; he sent them secret Assurances of Mercy, which wrought on the greatest part, so they dispersed themselves, and the most obstinate went to over them in *Yorkshire*. The Cobler, and some others, were taken and executed. The distance that those in the *North*, were at from the Court gave them time to rise, and form themselves into some Method: One *Ask* commanded in chief, and performed his part with great Dexterity: their March was called *The Pilgrimage of Grace*; they had in their Banners and on their Sleeves, the

Book I. the five Wounds of Christ: they took an Oath that they would restore the Church,
1536. suppress Hereticks, preserve the King and his Issue, and drive base-born Men and ill Counsellours from him. They became 40000 strong in a few days, and met with no Opposition, they forced the Arch-bishop of *York*, and the Lord *Darcy* to swear their Covenant, and to go along with them. They besieged *Skipton*, but the Earl of *Cumberland*, made it good against them: Sir *Ralph Evers* held out *Scarborough* Castle, tho for twenty days he and his Men had no Provisions but Bread and Water. There was also a rising in all the other Northern Counties, against whom the Earl of *Shrewsbury* made Head; and the King sent several of the Nobility to his Assistance, and within a few days the Duke of *Norfolk* marched with some Troops, and joyned him. They possessed themselves of *Doncaster*, and resolved to keep that pass till the rest of the Forces that the King had ordered to be summoned, should come up to them; for they were not in a Condition to engage with such numbers of desperate Men; and it was very likely that if they met with any ill Accident, the People might have risen about them every where; so the Duke of *Norfolk*, resolved to keep close at *Doncaster*, and let the Provisions and Rage of the Rebels spend, and then with the help of a little time, they might probably fall into Factions, and melt away. They had now fallen to 30000, but

but the King's Army was not above 5000. The Duke of *Norfolk* propoſed a Treaty, and made ſome go among them as Deſertors, and ſpread Reports that their Leaders were making Terms for themſelves. They were perſwaded to ſend their Petitions to the Court, and the King to make them more ſecure, diſcharged a Rendezvouz that he had appointed at *Northampton*, and ſent them a general Pardon, excepting ſix by name, and reſerving four to be afterwards named; but this put them all in ſuch Apprehenſions, that it made them more reſolved and deſperate: Yet the King to give his People ſome Content, put out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to continue the uſe of all the Ceremonies of the Church: 300 were imployed to carry the Rebels Demands to the King; 'Which were a General Pardon, a Parlia-'ment to be held at *York*; and that Courts 'of Juſtice ſhould be ſet up there; they de-'ſired that ſome Acts of Parliament might 'be repealed, that the Princeſs *Mary* might 'be reſtored to her Right of Succeſſion, 'and the Pope to his wonted Juriſdiction; 'that the Monaſteries might be again ſet 'up; that *Audley* and *Cromwell* might be 'put from the King, and that ſome of the 'Viſitors might be impriſoned for their 'Bribery and Extortion. But theſe being rejected, the Rebels took heart again, upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* adviſed the King to gentle Methods; he in his Heart wiſhed that all their Demands might be

Book I. 1536.

Book I. 1536. be granted; and the Ld *Darcy* did accuſe him afterwards as if he had encouraged them to make them. The King ſent him a general Pardon without any Exceptions, to be made uſe of as he ſaw Cauſe. The Rebels finding that with the loſs of time, they loſt Heart, reſolved to fall upon him and beat him from *Doncaſter*: but at two ſeveral times, in which they had reſolved to paſs the River, ſuch Rains fell out as made it unpaſſable, which was magnified as next to a Miracle, and made great Impreſſions on the Rebels Minds. The King ſent a long Anſwer to their Demands, he 'aſſured them he would live and dye in the 'Defence of the Chriſtian Faith: but the 'Rabble ought not to preſcribe to him, 'and to the Convocation in that matter; 'he anſwered that which concerned the 'Monaſteries, as he had done to the Men 'of *Lincolnſhire*. For the Laws, a Multi-'tude muſt not pretend to alter what was 'eſtabliſhed; he had governed them now '28 Years, his Subjects had enjoyed great 'Safety, and been very gently uſed by him 'in all that time. It was given out that 'when he began to raign, he had many of 'the Nobility in his Council, and that he 'had then none but Men meanly born; this 'was falſe, for he found but two Noble-'Men of his Council, and at preſent there 'were 7 Temporal Lords, and 4 Biſhops 'in it. It was neceſſary to have ſome that 'knew the Law of *England*, and Treaties 'with Foreign Princes, which made him

'call

'call *Audley* and *Cromwell* to the Board. Book I.
'If they had any Complaints to make of
'any about him, he was ready to hear 1537.
'them; but he would not suffer them to
'direct him what Counsellours he ought to
'employ: nor could they judg of the
'Bishops that were promoted, who were
'not known to them; he charged them
'not to believe Lies, nor be governed by
'Incendiaries, but to submit to his Mercy.
On the 9*th* of *December*, he signed a Proclamation of Pardon without any Restrictions.

When this was known, and the Rage of the People cooled, they were willing to lay hold on it, and all the Artifices that some of the Clergy and their Leaders could use, had no other Effect but to draw as many together as brought them under new Guilt, and made them forfeit the benefit of the King's Pardon. Many came in and renewed their Oaths of Allegiance, and promising all Obedience for the future. *Ask* was invited to the Court and well used by the King, on design to learn from him all the secret Correspondencies they had in the other parts of the Kingdom, for the Disposition to Rebel was general, only they were not all alike forward in it. It was in particular believed that the great Abbots cherished it, for which some of them were afterwards attained. *Darcy* pleaded his great Age, being then fourscore, and the Eminent Service he had done the Crown for fifty Years together, and that he

They are everywhere quieted.

Book I. he was forced for his own Preſervation to go along with the Rebels; but yet he was
1537. put in Priſon. This gave the Clergy Advantages to infuſe it in the People, that the Pardon would not be well kept: So 8000 run together again, and thought to have ſurprized *Carlile*, but the Duke of *Norfolk* fell on them and routed them, and by Martial Law hanged their Captains, and 70 other Perſons. Others thought to have ſurprized *Hull*, but were likewiſe routed, and many of them were hanged. Many other little Riſings were quickly diſperſed; and ſuch was the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Vigilance, that he was every where upon them before they could grow to any Number: and before the end of *January*, the Country was abſolutely quieted. *Aſk* left the Court without leave, but was ſoon retaken and hanged at *York*. The Lord *Darcy* and *Huſſy* were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, and condemned by their Peers, the one for the *Yorkſhire*, and the other for the *Lincolnſhire* Inſurrections. *Darcy* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*: his old Age and former Services made him to be much lamented. *Huſſy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*. *Darcy* accuſed the Duke of *Norfolk*, but he deſired a Trial by Combate upon it, yet the Services he had lately done were ſuch, that the King would not ſeem to have any Jealouſy of him. After theſe and ſeveral other Executions were over, the King proclaimed a General Oblivion in *July*, by which the Nation was again put in a quiet Condition,

dition, and this threatning Storm was now quite diſſipated. Book I.

As ſoon as it was over, the King went on more reſolutely in his Deſign of ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries: for he was now leſs apprehenſive of any new Commotions, after ſo many had been ſo happily quaſht and that the chief Incendiaries had ſuffered. 1537.

The greater Monaſteries reſigned to the King.

A new Viſitation was appointed to enquire into the Converſation of the Monks, to examine how they ſtood affected to the Pope, and how they promoted the King's Supremacy. They were likewiſe ordered to examine what Impoſtures might be among them, either in Images or Relicks, by which the Superſtition of the credulous People was wrought on. Some few Houſes of greater value, were prevailed with the former Year to ſurrender to the King. Many of the Houſes that had not bin diſſolved, tho they were within the former Act, were now ſuppreſt, and many of the greater Abbots were wrought on to ſurrender by ſeveral Motives: Some had been faulty during the Rebellion, and ſo to prevent a Storm, offered a Reſignation. Others liked the Reformation, and did it on that account: ſome were found guilty of great Diſorders in their Lives, and to prevent a ſhameful Diſcovery, offered their Houſes to the King; and others had made ſuch Waſts and Dilapidations, that having taken Care of themſelves, they were leſs concerned for others. At St. *Albans*, the Rents were let ſo low, that the Abbot

Book I. could not maintain the Charge of the Abby. At *Battel*, the whole Furniture of the
1537. House and Chappel was not above an 100 *l.* in value, and their Plate was not 300 *l.* In some Houses there was scarce any Plate or Furniture left. Many Abbots and Monks were glad to accept of a Pension for Life, and that was proportioned to the value of their House, and to their Innocence. The Abbots of St. *Albans* and *Tewkesbury*, had 400 Marks a Year: The Abbots of St. *Edmondsbury* was more innocent and more resolute: The Visitors wrote that they found no Scandals in that House: but at last he was prevailed with by a Pension of 500 Marks to resign. The Inferiour Governours had some 30, 20, or 10 *l.* Pensions, and the Monks had generally 6 *l.* or 8 Marks a piece. If any Abbot died, the new Abbot (they being chosen as the Bishops were upon a *Conge delire*, and a Missive Letter) was named for that purpose, only to resigne the House. And all were made to hope for Advancement, that should give good Example to others by a quick and cheerful Surrender: by these means 121 of those Houses were this Year resigned to the King. In most Houses the Visitor made the Monks sign a Confession of their former Vices and Disorders, of which there is only one Original Extant, that escaped a general Rasure of all such Papers in Queen *Mary*'s time; in which they acknowledged in a long Narrative, their 'former Idleness, Gluttony, and Sensua-

'ality,

'ality, for which the pit of Hell was ready Book I.
'to swallow them up. Others acknowled- 1537.
'ged that they were sensible that the man-
'ner of their former pretended Religion
'consisted in some dumb Ceremonies, by
'which they were blindly led, having no
'true Knowledg of God's Laws, but that
'they had procured Exemption from their
'Diocesans, and had subjected themselves
'wholly to a Forreign Power, that took
'no care to reform their Abuses; and
'therefore since the most perfect way of
'Life was revealed by Christ and his Apo-
'stles, and that it was fit they should be
'governed by the King, their *Supream*
'*Head*, they resigned to him. Of this sort
I have seen six. Some resigned in hopes
that the King would found them of new;
these favoured the Reformation, and in-
tended to convert their Houses to better
Uses, for preaching, study, and Prayer;
and *Latimer* prest *Cromwell* earnestly, that
two or three Houses might be reserved for
such purposes in every County. But it
was resolved to suppress all, and therefore
neither could the Intercessions of the Gen-
try of *Oxfordshire*, nor of the Visitors,
preserve the Nunnery at *Godstow*, tho
they found great Strictness of Life in it,
and it was the common place of the Educa-
tion of young Women of Quality in that
County. The common Preamble to most
Surrenders was, 'That upon full Delibe-
'ration and of their own proper Motion,
'for just and reasonable Causes, moving

Book I. 1537. 'their Conſciences; they did freely give up their Houſes to the King. Some ſurrendred without any Preamble, to the Viſitors as Feofees in truſt for the King. In ſhort, they went on at ſuch a rate, that 159 Reſignations were obtained before the Parliament met, and of theſe the Originals of 154 are yet extant. Some thought that theſe Reſignations could not be valid, ſince the Incumbents had not the Property, but only the Truſt for life of thoſe Houſes. But the Parliament did afterwards declare them good in Law. It was alſo ſaid, that they being of the Nature of Corporations, all Deeds under their Seals were valid; and that at leaſt by their Reſignation and quitting their Houſes, they forfeited them to the King. But this was thought to ſubſiſt rather on a Nicety in Law, than natural Equity.

Some Abbots attainted. Others were more roughly handled. The Prior of *Wooburn* was ſuſpected of a Correſpondence with the Rebels, and of favouring the Pope; he was dealt with to ſubmit to the King, and he was prevailed on to do it, but was not eaſie in it once, nor fixed to it; 'He complained that the new 'Preachers detracted from the Honour due 'to the Virgin and Saints; he thought the 'Religion was changed, and wondered that 'the Judgments of God on Q. *Anne*, had 'not terrified others from going on to ſub-'vert the Faith. When the Rebellion broke out, he joined in it, as did alſo the Abbots of *Whaley*, *Garvaux*, and *Sawley*, and

and the Prior of *Burlington*, all these were all taken, and attainted of Treason, and executed. The Abbots of *Glassenbury* and *Reading*, had also sent a great deal of their Plate to the Rebels, the former to disguise it the better, had made one break into the House where the Plate was kept: So he was convicted both of Burglary and Treason, and at his Execution he confessed his Crime, and begged both God's and the King's Pardon for it. The Abbot of *Colchester* was also attainted, and executed; but the Grounds of it are not known: for the Records of their Attaindors are lost. These had over and over again taken the Oaths, in which they acknowledged the King to be *Supream Head of the Church*, and were present in those Parliaments in which the several Acts about it were pass'd, and did not dissent to them; and since they made no Opposition, when they might safely and legally do it, there is no Reason to think they would have done it afterwards, when it was more dangerous and criminal: So that all those who have represented them as having suffered for denying the King's Supremacy, have therein shewed their Unacquaintedness with the Journals of Parliament. The Abbot of *Reading* had complied so far, that he was grown into Favour with *Cromwell*; so that in some Contests between *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury* and him, the Bishop, who was a proud ill-natured Man, complained that *Cromwell* supported the Abbot against him, and

Book I. 1537.

Book I. writ upon that a very Insolent, Expostula-
tory Letter to him; which *Cromwell* an-
1537. swered with great strength of Reason and Decency of Stile; by which it appears that heighth of his Condition, had no other Effect on him, but to make him know himself and others better. Upon the Attainders of those Abbots, their Abbies were seized on; and this was thought a great stretch both in Law and Equity: for it seemed not reasonable, if an Incumbent was faulty, for that to seize on his Benefice, which upon his Attainder ought to continue entire, and pass to the next Successor, as if he were really dead. But a Clause was put in the Act of Treason, 26 *Hen.* 8, That *whatsoever Lands of Estate of Inheritance, any that should be convicted of Treason, had in Use or Possession by any Right or manner, should be forfeited to the King.* By which, as intailed Estates were certainly comprehended, so it seems they applied it likewise to Church-Benefices: yet when the Bishop of *Rochester* was attainted, this was not thought on. The words, *Estate of Inheritance*, seemed to exclude Church-Lands, but the mention that was made of Traitors *Successors*, that were cut off as well as their *Heirs*, seemed on the other hand to include Estates, to which Successors might come in a Traitor's room, as well as those which descended by Inheritance. The Words were ambiguous, and were stretched to justify those Seizures; and therefore in an Act of Treasons made in the next Reign, this was more cautiously worded:

for

for it was provided that Traitors ſhould forfeit the Eſtates which they poſſeſſed *in their own Right*. But whatſoever Illegality there might be in theſe Proceedings, they were confirmed by the following Parliament, in a ſpecial *Proviſo* made concerning thoſe Abbies that were ſeized on by any Attainders of Treaſon. Many of the *Carthuſians* were executed for denying the King's Supremacy: Others were alſo ſuſpected of favouring them, and of receiving Books ſent from beyond Sea, againſt the King's Proceedings, and were ſhut up in their Cells, in which moſt of them died. The Prior was a Man of extraordinary Charity and Good-Works, as the Viſitor reported: But he was made reſign with this Preamble, 'That many of the Houſe had offen-'ded the King, and deſerved that their 'Lives ſhould be taken, and their Goods 'confiſcated; and therefore to avoid that, 'they ſurrendered their Houſes. Great Complaints were made of the Viſitors, as if they had uſed undue Practices to make the Abbots and Monks ſurrender: and it was ſaid, that they had in many Places embezell'd much of the Plate to their own Uſes; and in particular, it was complained that Dr. *London* had corrupted many Nuns. They on the other hand, publiſhed many of the vile Practices that they found in thoſe Houſes, ſo that ſeveral Books very indecently writ, were printed upon this Occaſion; but on ſo foul a Subject it is not fit to ſtand long. No Story became ſo

Book I. 1537.

Book I. publick as that of the Prior of the crossed Friers in *London*, who was found in bed with a Whore at Noon-day: He fell down on his Knees, and beg'd, that they who surprised him, would not discover his shame: They made him give them 30 *l.* which he protested was all he had; and he promised them as much more: But he not keeping his word to them, a Suit followed upon it. Yet all these personal Blemishes did not work much on the People. It seemed unreasonable to extinguish Noble Foundations, for the fault of some Individuals: Therefore another way was taken, which had a better effect.

1537.

The Impostures of Images discovered.

They discovered many Impostures about Relicks, and wonderful Images, to which, Pilgrimages had been wont to be made. At *Reading* they had an Angel's Wing, which brought over the Spear's Point that pierced our Saviour's Side: As many pieces of the Cross were found, as joined together, would have made a big Cross. The Rood of Grace at *Boxley* in *Kent*, had been much esteemed, and drawn many Pilgrims to it: It was observed to bow, and roul its Eyes; and look at times well pleased, or angry; which the credulous Multitude imputed to a Divine Power: But all this was discovered to be a Cheat, and it was brought up to St. *Paul*'s Cross; and all the Springs were openly shewed, that governed its several Motions. At *Hales* in *Gloucestershire* the Blood of Christ was shewed in a Vial; and it was believed, that none could

could see it who were in mortal Sin: And so after good Presents were made, the deluded Pilgrims went way well satisfied if they had seen it. This was the Blood of a Duck renewed every Week, put in a Vial very thick of one side, as thin on the other; and either side turned towards the Pilgrim, as the Priests were satisfied with their Oblations: Several other such like Impostures were discovered, which contributed much to the undeceiving the People. Book I. 1537.

The richest Shrine in *England* was *Thomas Becket's* at *Canterbury*, whose Story is well known. After he had long imbroiled *England*, and shewed that he had a Spirit so turned to Faction, that he could not be at quiet; some of *Henry* the Second's Officious Servants killed him in the Church of *Canterbury*: He was presently Canonized, and held in greater esteem than any other Saint whatsoever; so much more was a Martyr for the Papacy valued, than any that suffered for the Christian Religion: And his Altar drew far greater Oblations, than those that were dedicated to Christ, or the blessed Virgin; as appears by the accounts of two of their Years. In one, 3 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* And in another, not a Penny was offered at Christ's Altar. There was in the one, 63 *l.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.* and in the other, 4 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* offered at the Blessed Virgin's Altar. But in these very Years there was, 832 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.* and 964 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* offered at St. *Thomas*'s Altar. The Shrine grew

Becket's Shrine broken.

Book I. 1537. grew to be of ineſtimable Value. *Lewis* the Seventh of *France* came over in Pilgrimage to viſit it, and offered a Stone, valued to be the richeſt in Europe. He had not only one Holy Day, the 29*th* of *December*, called his Martyrdom; but alſo the Day of his Tranſlation, the 7*th* of *July*, was alſo a Holy Day; and every 50*th* Year there was a Jubily, and an Indulgence, granted to all that came and viſited his Tomb: And ſometimes there were believed to be 100000 Pilgrims there on that Occaſion. It is hard to tell whether the Hatred to his ſeditious Practices, or the Love of his Shrine, ſet on King *Henry* more to Unſaint him. His Shrine was broken, and the Gold of it was ſo heavy, that it filled two Cheſts, which took Eight men a piece to carry them out of the Church; and his Skull, which had been ſo much worſhipped, was proved to be an Impoſture; for the true Skull was with the reſt of his Bones in his Coffin; his Bones were either burnt, as it was given out at *Rome*; or ſo mixed with other Bones, as our Writers ſay; that it had been a Miracle indeed to have diſtinguiſhed them afterwards. The King called at this time, a Meeting of the Clergy, of 10 Biſhops, 8 Archdeacons, and 17 Divines and Canoniſts; and made them finiſh an Explanation of the Chriſtian Religion. But this was afterwards digeſted into a better form, as ſhall be told in its proper place.

When

When all these things were known at *Rome*, all the Eloquent Pens there were imploied to represent King *Henry* as the most Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was; that made War with Christs Vicar on Earth, and his Saints in Heaven; and he was compared to the worst Princes that ever reigned; to *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Belshazzar*, *Nero*, and *Diocletian*; but the *Parallel* with *Julian*, the Apostate, was most insisted on. It was said, He copied after him in all things, save only, that his Maners were worse. In many of these, Cardinal *Pool*'s Stile was pretended to be known; and they were all at least much encouraged by him, which provoked the King to hate him most Implacably. The Pope went further; for now he published all those Thunders, with which he had threatned him three Years before. 'He pre-'tended, That as God's Vicar, he had 'power to root out, and to destroy; and 'had Authority over all the Kings in the 'World: And therefore, after he had e-'numerated all the King's Crimes, he re-'quired himself to appear within 90 days, 'at *Rome*, either in Person, or by Proxy, 'and all his Complices within 60 Days; and 'if he and they did not appear, he decla-'red him to have fallen from his Crown; 'and them from their Estates. He put the 'Kingdom under an Interdict; and absolv-'ed his Subjects from their Oaths of Alle-'giance: He declared him and his Com-'plices, Infamous; and put their Children under

1537. *The Pope thunders against the King,*

Book I. 'under Incapacities. He required all the
'Clergy to go out of *England*, within 5
1537. 'Days after the time prefixed should ex-
'pire; leaving only so many as might
'serve for Baptizing Children, or giving
'the Sacrament to such as died in Penitence.
'He charged all his Subjects to rise in Arms
'against him, and that none should assist
'him. He absolved all other Princes from
'their Confederacies with him, and ob-
'tested them to have no more Commerce
'with him. He required all Christians to
'make War on him; and to seize on the
'Persons and Goods of all his Subjects;
'and make Slaves of them. He charged
'all Bishops to publish the Sentence with
'due Solemnities; and ordained it to be
'affixed at *Rome*, *Tournay* and *Dunkirk*. This was first given out the 30 of *August* 1535; but it had been all this while suspended, till the Suppression of the Monasteries, and the burning of *Becket*'s Bones, did so inflame the Pope, that he resolved to forbear going to Extremities no longer. So on the 17 of *December* this Year, the Pope published the Bull, which he said he had so long suspended at the Intercession of some Princes; who hoped that King *Henry* might have been reclaimed by gentler Methods; and therefore since it appeared that he grew still worse and worse, he was forced to proceed to his Fulminations. By this Sentence it is certain, That either the Popes Infallibility, must be confessed to be a Cheat put upon the World, or if any believe

believe it, they must acknowledge, that the Power of deposing Princes, is really lodged in that Chair: For this was not a sudden fit of Passion, but was done *ex Cathedra*, with all the Deliberation they ever admit of. The Sentence was in some particulars without a Precedent; but as to the main Points of deposing the King, and absolving his Subjects from their Obedience, there was abundance of Instances to be brought in these last 500 Years, to shew that this had been all along asserted the Right of the Papacy. The Pope writ also to the Kings of *France*, and *Scotland*, with design to inflame them against King *Henry*: And if this had been an Age of *Croisades*, no doubt there had been one undertaken against him; for it was held to be as meritorious, if not more, to make War on him, than on the Turk. But now the Thunders of the *Vatican* had lost their force.

The Bishops of England assent the King's Power, and the Nature of Ecclesiastical Offices.

The King got all the Bishops, and Eminent Divines of *England*, to sign a Declaration against all Church-men, who pretended to the Power of the Sword, or to Authority over Kings; and that all that assumed such Powers, were Subverters of the Kingdom of Christ. Many of the Bishops did also sign another Paper, declaring the Limits of the Regal and Ecclesiastical Power, that both had their Authority from God, for several Ends, and different Natures; and that Princes were subject to the Word of God, as well as Bishops ought to be obedient to their Laws.

There

Book I. 1537. There was also another Declaration made, signed by *Cromwel*, the 2 Archbishops, 11 Bishops, and 20 Divines; asserting the Distinction betwen the Power of the Keys, and the Power of the Sword. The former was not absolute, but limited by the Scripture. Orders were declared to be a Sacrament instituted by Christ, which were conferred by Prayer, and Imposition of Hands. And that in the New Testament, no mention was made of any other Ranks, but of Deacons, or Ministers; and of Priests, or Bishops. After this, the use of all the Inferiour Degrees of Lectures, Acolyths, *&c.* was laid down. These were set up about the beginning of the 3*d* Century; for in the middle of that Age, mention is made of them, both by *Cornelius*, and *Cyprian*; and they were intended to be degrees of Probation, through which Men were to ascend to the higher Functions. But the Canonists had found out so many Distinctions of Benefices; and that a simple Tonsure, qualified a Man for several of them; that these Institutions became either a matter of Form only, or were made a Colour for Laymen to possess Ecclesiastical Benefices. In this, and several other Books of that time, *Bishops* and *Priests* are spoken of, as being both one Office. In the Ancient Church there were different Ordinations, and different Functions belonging to these Offices, tho the Superiour was believed to include the Inferiour. But in the latter Ages, both the

the School-men & Canoniſts ſeemed on diffe- Book I
rent grounds to have deſigned to make them
appear to be the ſame Office; and that the 1537.
one was only a higher degree in the ſame Order. The School-men, to magnify Tranſubſtantiation, extolled the Office, by which that was performed ſo high, and the Canoniſts, to exalt the Pope's Univerſal Authority, depreſt the Office of Biſhops ſo low, to make them ſeem only the Pope's Delegates; and that their Juriſdiction was not from Chriſt, that by theſe means, theſe two Offices were thought ſo near one another, that they differed only in degree: And this was ſo well obſerved at *Trent*, that the Eſtabliſhing the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, as founded on a Divine Right, was apprehended as one of the fatalleſt Blows that could have been given to the Papacy. This being at this time ſo commonly received, it is no wonder, if before that matter came to be more exactly inquired into, ſome of the Reformers writ more careleſsly in the Explanations they made of theſe Offices, which is ſo far from being an Argument, that they were upon due enquiry of another mind; that it is to be look'd on as a part of the Dregs of Popery, flowing from the belief of Tranſubſtantiation, and the Pope's Supremacy, of which all the Conſequences were not ſo early obſerved.

This Year the Engliſh Bible was finiſhed. *The Bible in Engliſh, and new Injunctions.*
The Tranſlation was ſent over to *Paris* to be printed there, for the Workmen in *Eng-*

Book I. *England* were not thought able to go about it. *Bonner* was then Embaſſadour in
1537. *France*; and he obtained a Licence of *Francis* for printing it; but upon a Complaint made by the French Clergy, the Preſs was ſtopt, and many of the Copies were ſeized on, and burnt. So it was brought over to *England*, and was undertaken, and now finiſhed, by *Grafton*. *Cromwel* procured a General Warrant from the King, allowing all his Subjects to read it; for which, *Cranmer* wrote his thanks to *Cromwel*; 'and rejoyced to ſee the day of Reforma-'tion now riſen in *England*, ſince the Word 'of God did ſhine over it all, without a 'Cloud. Not long after this, *Cromwel* gave out Injunctions, requiring the Cler-'gy to ſet up Bibles in their Churches, and 'to encourage all to read them. He alſo 'exhorted the People not to diſpute about 'the ſenſe of difficult places, but to leave 'that to Men of better Judgments. In-'cumbents were required to inſtruct the 'People, and teach them the Creed, the 'Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Command-'ments, in Engliſh: And that once every 'Quarter there ſhould be a Sermon, to de-'clare the true Goſpel of Chriſt; and to 'exhort the People to Works of Charity; 'and not to truſt to other Men's Works, 'to Pilgrimages, or Relicts, or the ſaying 'their Beads, which tended to Superſti-'tion. Images, abuſed by Pilgrimages made 'to them, were to ordered be taken away. 'No Candle was to be before any Image, but 'the

'the Crucifix: And they were to teach 'the People, that it was Idolatry, to make 'any other use of Images, but meerly to 'put them in minde of those whom they 'represented: And such as had formerly 'magnified Images, or Pilgrimages, were 'required openly to recant and confess, 'that they had been led into an Errour, 'which Covetousness had brought into the 'Church. All Incumbents were required 'to keep Registers for Christnings, and 'Marriages; and to teach the People that 'it were good to omit the Suffrages to the 'Saints in the Litany. These struck at some of the main Points of the former Superstition, both about Images, Pilgrimages, and the Invocation of Saints: But the free Use of the Scriptures gave the deadliest Blow of all. Yet all the Clergy submitted to them without any Murmuring. Book I. 1538.

Prince *Edward* was this Year born; and this very much blasted the Hopes of the Popish Party, which were chiefly built on the probability of Lady *Mary*'s succeeding to the Crown, which was now set at a greater distance. So both *Lee*, *Gardiner*, and *Stokesly*, seemed to vie with the Bishops of the other Party, which of them should most zealously execute the Injunctions, and thereby insinuate themselves most into the King's Esteem and Favour. *Gardiner* was some Years Ambassadour in *France*, but *Cromwel* got *Bonner* to be sent in his room, who seemed then to be the most zealous Promoter of the Reformation, that was then Prince Edward born.

Book I. in *England*. After that, *Gardiner* was sent to the Emperour's Court, with Sir *Henry Knevet*, and there he gave some occasion to suspect that he was treating a Reconciliation with the Pope's Legate. But the *Italian* that managed it, being sent with a Message to the Ambassadour's Secretary, he mistook *Knevet*'s Secretary for *Gardiner*'s, and told his Business to him. *Knevet* tried what could be made of it, but could not carry it far: For the *Italian* was disowned, and put in Prison upon it: And *Gardiner* complained of it, as a Trepan laid to ruine him. The King continued still to employ him; but rather made use of him, than trusted him: yet *Gardiner*'s Artifices and Flatteries were such, that he was still preserved in some Degrees of Favour, as long as the King lived; but he knew him so well, that he neither named him one of his Executors, nor one of his Son's Council, when he made his Will. *Gardiner* used one *Topick* which prevailed much with the King, that his Zeal against Heresy was the greatest Advantage that his Cause could have over all *Europe*: And therefore he prest him to begin with the Sacramentaries (so were those of the *Helvetian* Confession called) and those being condemned by the *German* Princes, he had the less reason to be afraid of imbroiling his Affairs by his Severities against them.

1538.

Lambert is condemned and burnt for denying the Corporal Presence.

This meeting so well with the King's own Perswasions about the Corporal Presence, had a great effect on him; and an occasion

occasion did quickly offer it self to him, to declare his Zeal in that matter. *Lambert* was at that time accused before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to the Factory of *Antwerp*, and there he associated himself to *Tindall*: Afterwards he was seized on coming over to *England*; but upon the changes that followed, he was set at Liberty. Dr. *Taylor* had preached on the Corporal Presence in his hearing: This offended him, and he drew up his Reasons against it, and gave them to *Taylor*. He communicated it to *Barns*, who was a hot man, and a fierce *Lutheran*: And they thought that the venting that Opinion would stop the Progress of the Reformation, give Prejudice to the People, and divide them among themselves: And therefore they brought this matter before *Cranmer*, who was at that time likewise a *Lutheran*; he dealt with *Lambert* to retract his Paper; but he took a fatal Resolution, and appealed to the King. Upon which, the King resolved to judge him in Person, and to manage the Trial with great Solemnity; and for that end, many of the Nobility and Bishops were sent for. When the day came, there was a vast Appearance. The King's Guards and Cloath of State, were all in White, to make it look the liker a Divine Service. *Lambert* begun with a Complement, acknowledging the King's great Learning, and his Goodness in hearing the Causes of his Subjects. The King stop'd

Book I. 1538.

Book I. 1538. him, and bad him forbear Flatteries, and speak to the matter: And he argued against him from Christ's Words, that the Sacrament must be his Body. *Lambert* answered in St. *Austin*'s Words, That it *was his Body in a certain manner*, but that a Body could not be in two places at once. To this the King commanded *Cranmer* to speak; and he argued, That since Christ is still in Heaven, and yet he appeared to St. *Paul*, that therefore he may be in different places at once. *Lambert* said, That was but a Vision, and was not the very Body of Christ. *Tonstall* argued, That the Divine Omnipotence was not to be measured by our Notions, of what was impossible. *Stokesly* argued, That one Substance may be changed into another, and yet the Accidents remain: So Water when it boiled, did evaporate in Air, and yet its Moisture remained. This was received with great Applause; tho it was an ill Inference, that because there was an accidental Conversion, therefore there might be a Substantial one, in which one Substance was annihilated, and another produced in its place. Ten, one after another, disputed, and their Arguments, with the stern Words and Looks that the King interposed, together with the length of the Action, in so publick an Assembly, put *Lambert* in some Confusion; and upon his Silence, a great Shout of Applause followed. In Conclusion, the King asked him if he was not convinced, and whether he would live or die? But he conti-

continued firm to his Opinion: So *Cromwel* was commanded to read the Sentence of his Condemnation; and not many days after, it was executed in a most barbarous manner, in *Smithfield*: For there was not Fire enough put under him to consume him suddenly; so that his Legs and Thighs were burnt away while he was yet alive. He bore it patiently, and continued to cry out, *None but Christ, none but Christ.* He was a Man of considerable Learning, and of a very good Judgment. The Popish Party improved this, and perswaded the King of the good effects it would have on his People, who would in this see his Zeal for the Faith; and they forgot not to magnify all that he had said, as if it had been uttered by an Oracle; which proved him to be both *Defender of the Faith, and Supream Head of the Church.* All this wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to call a Parliament, both for the suppressing the Monasteries, and the new Opinions. Book I. 1538.

Fox, Bishop of *Hereford*, died at this time: He had been much imploied in *Germany*, and had setled a League between the King and the *German* Princes. The King was acknowledged the Patron of their League, and he sent them over 100000 Crowns a Year, for the support of it. There was a Religious League also proposed; but upon the turn that followed in the Court upon Queen *Ann*'s Death, that fell to the ground; and all that was in put their League relating to Religion, was, That *Treaties with the German Princes.*

Book I. they should joyn against the Pope as the common Enemy, and set up the true Religion according to the Gospel. But the Treaty about other Points was afterwards set on foot. The King desired *Melanchthon* to come over; and several Letters passed between them, but he could not be spared out of *Germany*; tho he was then invited both to *France* and *England*. The *Germans* sent over some to treat with the King; the Points they insisted most on were, the granting the Chalice to the People, and the putting down private Masses, in which the Institution seemed express; the having the Worship in a known Tongue, which both common sense, and the Authority of St. *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Corinthians*, seemed to justify much. The third was, The Marriage of the Clergy; for they being extream sensible of the Honour of their Families, reckoned, that could not be secured, unless the Priests might marry. Concerning these things, their Ambassadours gave a long and learned Memorial to the King; to which an Answer was made, penned by *Tonstall*; in which the things they complained of, were justified by the ordinary Arguments. Upon *Fox*'s Death, *Bonner* was promoted to *Hereford*; and *Stokesly* dying not long after, he was translated to *London*. *Cromwell* thought that he had raised a Man that would be a faithful Second to *Cranmer* in his Designs of Reformation, who indeed needed help; not only to ballance the Op-

1538.

position

position made him by other Bishops, but to lessen the Prejudices he suffered by the Weakness and Indiscretion of his own Party, who were generally rather Clogs than Helps to him. Great Complaints were brought to the Court of the rashness of the new Preachers, who were flying at many things not yet abolished. Upon this, Letters were writ to the Bishops, to take care that as the People should be rightly instructed; so they should not be offended with too many Novelties. Thus was *Cranmer*'s Interest so low, that he had none to depend on, but *Cromwell*. There was not a Queen now in the King's Bosom to support them; and therefore *Cromwell* set himself to contrive how the King should be engaged in such an Alliance with the Princes of *Germany*, as might prevail with him, both in Affection and Interest, to carry on what he had thus begun. And the Beauty of *Anne* of *Cleve* was so represented to him, that he set himself to bring about that Match. Book I. 1538.

A Parliament was summoned to the 28*th* of *April*, in which twenty of the Abbots sate in Person. On the 5*th* of *May*, a Motion was made, that some might be appointed to draw a Bill, against Diversity of Opinions in matters of Religion; these were *Cromwell*, *Cranmer*, the Bishops of *Durefme*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bangor*, *Carlile*, and *Worcester*; they were divided in their Minds; and the Popish Party were five to four, yet the Authority that *The Act of the six Articles.*

Book I. 1538. *Cromwell* and *Cranmer* were in, turned the Ballance a little; but after they had met eleven days, they ended in nothing. Upon that the Duke of *Norfolk* propoſed the ſix Articles; The firſt was for the Corporal Preſence. 2. For Communion in one kind. 3. For obſerving the Vows of Chaſtity. 4. For private Maſſes. 5. For the Celibate of the Clergy. And the ſixth, was for Auricular Confeſſion: Againſt moſt of theſe *Cranmer* argued ſeveral days. It is not like he oppoſed the firſt, both becauſe of that which he had declared in *Lambert*'s Caſe ſo lately, and in his own Opinion, he was then for it; but he had the Words of the Inſtitution, and the conſtant Practice of the Church for twelve Ages to object to the ſecond: and for the third, ſince the Monks were ſet at Liberty to live in the World, it ſeemed hard to reſtrain them from Marriage, and nothing did ſo effectually cut off their Pretenſions to their former Houſes, as their being married would do. For the fourth, if private Maſſes were uſeful, then the King had done very ill to ſuppreſs ſo many Houſes, that were chiefly founded for that end: the Sacrament was alſo by its firſt Inſtitution, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, to be a Communion; and all thoſe private Maſſes were invented to cheat the World. For the fifth, it touched *Cranmer* in the quick, for it was believed that he was married, but the Arguments uſed for that will be found in the next Book. For Auricular Confeſſion, *Lee*

Gardiner

Gardiner and *Tonſtal*, preſs'd much to have it declared neceſſary by the *Law of God*. *Cranmer* argued againſt this, and ſaid it was only a good and profitable thing. The King came often to the Houſe in Perſon, and diſputed in theſe Points: for the greateſt part he was againſt *Cranmer*; but in this particular he joyned with him. *Tonſtall* drew up all the Quotations, brought from Antient Authors for it, in a Paper which he delivered to the King; the King anſwered in a long Letter, written with his own Hand, in which he ſhewed, that the Fathers did only adviſe Confeſſion, but did not impoſe it as neceſſary: and ſo it was concluded in general, only that it was *neceſſary and expedient*. On the 24th of *May*, the Parliament was prorogued a few days, but by a Vote it was provided that the Bills ſhould continue in the ſtate they were then in. At their next meeting, two Committees were appointed to draw the Bill of Religion; *Cranmer* was the chief of the one, and *Lee* of the other; both their Draughts were carried to the King, and were in many places corrected with his own Hand; in ſome Parts he writ whole Periods a new. That which *Lee* drew was more agreeable to the King's Opinion; ſo it was brought into the Houſe. *Cranmer* argued three days againſt it, and when it came to the Vote, the King who was much ſet on having it paſt, deſired him to go out, but he excuſed himſelf, for he thought he was bound in Conſcience to vote againſt it:

Book I. 1538.

Book I. it: But the reſt that oppoſed it, were more compliant, and it alſo paſſed without any
1539. conſiderable Oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, and was aſſentd to by the King.

'The Subſtance of it was, That the King 'being ſenſible of the good of Union, and 'of the miſchief of Diſcord, in points of 'Religion, had come to the Parliament in 'Perſon, and opened many things of high 'Learning there; and that with the aſſent 'of both Houſes, he ſet forth theſe Arti-'cles.

'1. That in the Sacrament there was no 'Subſtance of Bread and Wine, but only 'the Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt.

'2. That Chriſt was entirely in each 'kind, and ſo Communion in both was 'not neceſſary.

'3. That Prieſts by the Law of God, 'ought not to marry.

'4. That Vows of Chaſtity taken after 'the Age of 21, ought to be kept.

'5. That Private Maſſes were lawful 'and uſeful.

'6. That Auricular Confeſſion was ne-'ceſſary, and ought to be retained. Such 'as did ſpeak or write againſt the firſt of 'theſe, were to be burned without the 'benefit of Abjuration; and it was made 'Felony to diſpute againſt the other five: 'and ſuch as did ſpeak againſt them were to 'be in a *Premunire* for the firſt Offence; the 'ſecond was made Felony. Married Prieſts 'that did not put away their Wives, were 'to be condemned of Fellony, in thoſe that

'lived

'lived incontinently, the first Offence was a *Premunire*, and the second Felony. Women that offended were to be punished as 'the Priests were. Those that contemned 'Confession and the Sacrament, and abstained from it at the accustomed times, 'were for the first Offence in a *Premunire*, 'the second was Felony. Proceedings 'were to be made in the Forms of Common Law, by Presentments, and a Jury, 'and all Church-men were charged to read 'the Act in their Churches once a Quarter. Book I. 1539.

Censures past upon it.

This Act was received with great Joy by all the Popish Party; they reckoned that now Heresy would be extirpated, and that the King was as much engaged against it, as he was when he writ against *Luther*: this made the Suppression of the Monasteries pass much the easier. The poor Reformers were now exposed to the Rage of their Enemies, and had no Comfort from any part of it, but one, that they were not delivered up to the Cruelty of the Ecclesiastical Courts, or the Trials *ex Officio*, but were to be tried by Juries: yet the denying the benefit of Abjuration, was a Severity without a Precedent, and was a forcing Martyrdom on them, since they were not to be the better for their Apostacy. It was some Satisfaction to the married Clergy, that the incontinent Priests were to be so severely punished; which *Cromwell* put in, and the Clergy knew not how they could decently oppose it. Upon the passing the Act, the *German* Ambassadours

Book I. dours being ſet on to it by thoſe that favoured their Doctrine in *England*, deſired an 1539. Audience of the King, and told him of the Grief with which their Maſters would receive the News of this Act; and therefore earneſtly preſs'd him to ſtop the Execution of it. The King anſwered that he found it neceſſary to have the Act made, for repreſſing the Inſolence of ſome People, but aſſured them it ſhould not be put in Execution, except upon great Provocation. When the Princes heard of the Act, they writ to the King to the ſame purpoſe: they warned him of many Biſhops that were about him, who in their Hearts loved Popery, and all the old Abuſes; and took this method to force the King to return back to the former Yoke, hoping that if they once made him cruel to all thoſe they called Hereticks, it would be eaſy to bring him back to ſubmit to that Tyranny, which he had ſhaken off; and therefore they propoſed a Conference between ſome Divines of both ſides in order to an Agreement of Doctrine. The King was only concerned upon State Maxims, to keep up their League in Oppoſition to the Emperour; but they ſtill preſs'd a Religious as well as a Civil League.

An Act for ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries.

After the Act of the ſix Articles, the Act for ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries was brought in; and tho there were ſo many Abbots ſitting in the Houſe, none of them proteſted againſt it; 'By it no Monaſtery 'was ſuppreſſed, but only the Reſignations 'made

'made or to be made, were confirmed; and 'the King's Right, founded either on their 'Surrenders, Forfeitures, or Attainders of 'Treaſon, was declared good in Law. 'Houſes ſurrendred were to be managed 'by the Court of Augmentations; but thoſe 'ſeized on by Attainders were to come to 'the Exchequer. All Perſons except the 'Founders and Donors were to have the 'ſame Rights to the Lands, belonging to 'theſe Houſes, that they had before this Act 'was made. All Deeds and Leaſes made 'for a Year before this, to the prejudice of 'theſe Houſes were annulled; and all the 'Churches belonging to them, and former-'ly exempted, were put under the Juriſ-'diction of the Biſhop, or of ſuch as 'ſhould be appointed by the King. This laſt *Proviſo* has produced a great Miſchief in this Church; for many that purchaſed Abby-Lands, had this Clauſe put in their Grants, that they ſhould be the Viſitors of the Churches, and by this they continue ſtill exempted from the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; and this has emboldened many to break out into great Scandals, which have been made uſe of by prejudiced Men to caſt an Obloquy on the Church; tho this Diſorder proceeds only from the want of Authority in the Biſhops to cenſure them. A Queſtion was raiſed upon this Suppreſſion, whether the Lands ſhould have reverted to the Donors, or been eſcheated to the Crown. By a Judgment of the *Roman* Senate in *Theodoſius*'s time,

Book I. 1539.

Book I. time, all the Endowments of the Heathenish Temples were given to the *Fisc*, and tho
1539. the Heirs of the *Donors* pretended to them, yet it was said, that by the Gifts that their Ancestors made, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. When the Order of the Templers was suppressed, their Lands went to the Lord by an Escheat. This might seem reasonable in Endowments that were simple Gifts, without any Conditions: But the Grants to Religious Houses were of the nature of Covenants, given in consideration of the Masses, that were to be said for them and their Families; and therefore it was inferred, that when the Cheat of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory was discovered, and these Houses were suppress'd, then the Lands ought to revert to the Heirs of the *Donors*; and upon that account it was thought necessary to exclude them by a special *Proviso*.

An Act for new Bishopricks.

Another Bill was brought in, empowering the King to erect new Bishopricks by his Letters Patents; it was read three times in one day in the House of Lords. 'The 'Preamble set forth that the ill Lives of 'those that were called Religious, made it 'necessary to change thir Houses to better 'Uses, for teaching the Word of God, 'instructing of Children, educating of 'Clerks, relieving of old infirm People, 'the endowing of Readers for Greek, 'Latine, and Hebrew, mending of High-'ways, and the bettering the Condition of 'the Parish Priests; and for this end the

'King

'King was empowered to erect new Sees, Book I.
'and to assign what Limits and Divisions,
'and appoint them what Statutes he pleased. 1539.
I have seen the first Draught of this Preamble all written with the King's own Hand; and indeed he used extraordinary Care in correcting both Acts of Parliament and Proclamations with his own Hand: All Papers in matters of Religion, that were set out by publick Authority in this Reign, were revised by him, and in many places large Corrections are to be seen, made with his own Hand, which shew both his great Judgment in those Matters, and his extraordinary Application to Business; but as he was fond of his two accquired Titles, of *Defender of the Faith*, and *Supream Head of the Church*; and loved to shew that he did not carry them in vain; so there was nothing which he affected more, then to discover his Learning and Understanding in matters of Religion. He writ also a List of all the new Sees which he intended to found, which were *Waltham*, for *Essex*, St. *Albans*, for *Hartford*, another for *Bedfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire* out of the Monasteries of *Dunstable*, *Newenham*, and *Clowstown*; another for *Oxfordshire*, and *Berkshire*, out of the Rents of *Osney*, and *Tame*, one for *Northampton* and *Huntington*, out of *Peterborough*, one for *Midlesex* out of *Westminster*; one for *Leicester* and *Rutland*, out of *Leicester*; one for *Glocestershire* out of St. *Peters* in *Glocester*; one for *Lancashire* out of

Book I. of *Fountain*, and the Arch-Deaconry of *Richmond*; one for *Suffolk* out of *Edmundsbury*; one for *Stafford* and *Salop* out of *Shrewsbury*; one for *Nottingham* and *Darby* out of *Welbeck*, *Werſop*, and *Thurgarton*; and one for *Cornwall* out of the Rents of *Lanceſton*, *Bodmyn*, and *Wardreth*: Over theſe he writ *Biſhopricks to be made*; and in another part of the ſame Paper he writ *Places to be altered, which have Sees in them, and names* Chriſt-Church in *Canterbury*, St. *Swithins* and ſeveral others; a little under that, he writ, *Places to be altered into Colledges and Schools*, but mentions only *Burton upon Trent*. Neither *Cheſter* nor *Briſtol* are named here, tho Epiſcopal Sees were afterwards erected in them. The King had formed a great Deſign of endowing many Sees, and making many other noble Foundations; yet the great Change that was made in the Councils and Miniſtry before this took Effect, made that only a ſmall part of that, which he now intended, was accompliſhed. Another Act was brought in, concerning the Obedience due to the King's Proclamations, which ſet forth, 'That 'great Exceptions had been made to the 'Legality of the King's Proclamations, by 'ſome who did not conſider what a King 'might do by his Royal Power; which the 'King took very ill; and ſince many Oc'caſions called for ſpeedy Remedies, and 'could not admit of Delays till a Parliament 'might be called; therefore it was enacted, 'that ſuch Proclamations as the King ſet

1539.

An Act for Proclamations.

'out

'out by Advice of his Council, with Pains upon Offenders, ſhould be obeyed as if 'they were Acts of Parliaments; yet it 'was provided that no Laws nor Cuſtoms 'might be taken away by them, and that 'the Subjects ſhould not ſuffer in their 'Eſtates, Liberties, or Perſons, by them. 'If any offended againſt them, and fled out 'of the Kingdom, that was made *Treaſon.* 'It was alſo provided that if the King's 'Heirs ſhould reign before they were of 'Age, the Proclamations ſet out by the 'Privy Council, ſhould have the like force 'in Law. By this the Injunctions that had been given, or ſhould be thereafter given, were now legally authorized. The Statute of Precedence paſt in this Parliament. The King's *Vicegerent* was to take place of all after the Royal Family, and next him among the Clergy, came the two Arch-biſhops, then the Biſhops of *London* and *Dureſme*, after them the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, as Prelate of the Garter, and all the other Biſhops were to take place according to the Date of their Conſecrations. Book I. 1539.

A Bill of Attainder paſt, not only confirming the Sentences that had been given againſt the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Lord *Mounticute*, and others, that had been condemned at common Law; but of ſome that were of new attainted without a Trial: of theſe ſome were abſent, and others were in Priſon; but it was not thought fit to bring them to make their Anſwers: The *Some attainted without being heard.*

Book I. chief of these were the Marchionses of *Exeter*, and the Countess of *Sarum* (Mother to
1539. Cardinal *Pool*:) It was questioned whether this could be done in Law or not. The Judges delivered their Opinion, that it was against natural Justice to condemn any without hearing them; and that when the Parliament proceeded as a Court, they were obliged to follow the common Rules of Equity; but if they did otherwise, yet since they were the Supream Court of the Nation, whatsoever they did, could not be reversed. The latter part of this was laid hold on, and the former was neglected, so that Act past. This Council was ascribed to *Cromwell*, and he being the first that was executed upon such a Sentence, gave occasion to many to observe the Justice of God, in making ill Councils turn upon those that gave them.

The King's Kindness to Cranmer.

When the Parliament was prorogued, the King ordered *Cranmer* to put in writing all the Arguments he had used against the six Articles, and bring them to him. He sent also both *Cromwell* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, to dine with him, and to assure him of the Constancy of his Kindness to him. At Table they expressed great Esteem for him, and acknowledged that he had opposed the six Articles with so much Learning and Gravity, that those who differed most from him, could not but value him highly for it; and that he needed not to fear any thing from the King: *Cromwell* said the King made that difference

 between

between him and the reſt of his Council, that he would not ſo much as hearken to any Complaints that were made of him; and made a Parallel between him and Cardinal *Wolſey*; the one loſt his Friends by his Pride, and the other gained on his Enemies, by his Humility and Mildneſs: the Duke of *Norfolk* ſaid he could ſpeak beſt of the Cardinal, having been his *Man* ſo long: this heated *Cromwell*, who anſwered, that he never liked his Manners, and tho *Wolſey* had intended if he had been choſen Pope, to have carried him with him to *Italy*, yet he was reſolved not to have gone, tho he knew the Duke intended to have gone with him. Upon this the Duke of *Norfolk* ſwore he lied, and gave him foul Language. This put all the Company in great Diſorder: They were in ſome ſort reconciled, but were never hearty Friends after this. *Cranmer* put his Reaſons againſt the ſix Articles together, and gave them to his Secretary to be written out in a fair Hand for the King's uſe: but he croſſing the *Thames* with the Book in his Boſom, met with ſuch an Adventure on the Water as might have at another time ſent the Author to the Fire. There was a Bear baited near the River, which breaking looſe, run into it, and happened to overturn the Boat in which *Cranmer*'s Secretary was, and he being in danger of his Life, took no care of the Book, which falling from him floated on the River, and was taken up by the Bear-Ward, and put

Book I. 1539.

Book I. in the hand of a Priest that stood by, to see what it might contain; he presently 1539. found it was a Confutation of the six Articles, and so told the Bear-ward that the Author of it would certainly be hanged. So when the Secretary came to ask for it, and said it was the Arch-bishop's Book; the other that was an obstinate Papist, refused to give it, and reckoned that now *Cranmer* would be certainly ruined: but the Secretary acquainting *Cromwell* with it, he called for him next day, and chid him severely for presuming to keep a Privy-Counsellours Book, and so he took it out of his Hands: thus *Cranmer* was delivered out of this Danger. *Shaxton* and *Latimer* not only resigned their Bishopricks, but being presented for some Words spoken against the six Articles, they were put in Prison, where they lay till a recantation discharged the one, and the King's Death set the other at liberty. There were about 500 others presented on the same account, but upon the Intercessions of *Cranmer*, *Cromwell*, and others, they were set at liberty, and there was a stop put to the further Execution of the Act till *Cromwell* fell.

Bishops hold their Sees at the King's Pleasure.

The Bishops of the Popish Party took strange Methods to insinuate themselves into the King's Confidence, for they took out Commissions by which they acknowledged, 'That all Jurisdiction, Civil and 'Ecclesiastical, flowed from the King, and 'that they exercised it only at the King's 'Courtesy: and as they had of his Bounty,

'so they would be ready to deliver it up when he should be pleased to call for it; and therefore the King did empower them in his stead, to ordain, give Institution, and do all the other parts of the Episcopal Function, which was to last during his Pleasure: and a mighty charge was given them to ordain none but Persons of great Integrity, good Life, and well learned; for since the Corruption of Religion flowed from ill Pastors, so the Reformation of it was to be expected chiefly from good Pastors. By this they were made indeed the King's Bishops: in this *Bonner* set an Example to the rest, but it does not appear that *Cranmer* took out any such Commission all this Reign. 1539.

All the Monasteries suppress.

Now came on the total Dissolution of the Abbies, 57 surrenders were made this Year, of which 30 are yet extant; of these, 37 were Monasteries, and 20 were Nunneries; and among them 12 were Parliamentary Abbies; which were in all 28, *Abington*, St. *Albans*, St. *Austin's Canterbury*, *Battell*, St. *Bennets* in the Holm, *Bardeny*, *Cirencester*, *Colchester*, *Coventry*, *Croyland*, St. *Edmundsbury*, *Evesham*, *Glassenbury*, *Gloceste*, *Hide*, *Malmsbury*, St. *Mary's* in *York*, *Peterborough*, *Ramsey*, *Reading*, *Selby*, *Shrewsbury*, *Tavestock*, *Tewkesbury*, *Thorney*, *Waltham*, *Westminster*, and *Winchelcomb*. When all had thus resigned, Commissioners were appointed by the Court of Augmentations to seize on the Revenues and Goods belonging to these Houses, to establish the

Book I. Penſions that were to be given to every one that had been in them, and to pull down the Churches, or ſuch other parts of the Fabrick, as they thought ſuperfluous, and to ſell the Materials of them. When this was done, others began to get Hoſpitals to be ſurrendred to the King; *Thirleby* being Maſter of St. *Thomas* Hoſpital in *Southwark*, was the firſt that ſet an Example to the reſt; he was ſoon after made a Biſhop, and turned with every Change that followed, till Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, and then he refuſed to comply tho he had gone along with all the Changes that were made in King *Edward*'s time. The valued Rents of the Abby-Lands as they were then let, was 132607 *l.* 6 *s.* 4 *d.* but they were worth above ten times ſo much in true value. The King had now in his hand the greateſt Advantage that ever King of *England* had, both for enriching the Crown, and making Royal Foundations. But ſuch was his Eaſineſs to his Courtiers, and his Laviſhneſs, that all this melted away in a few Years, and his Deſigns were never accompliſhed; he intended to have founded 18 new Biſhopricks, but he founded only ſix: Other great Projects did alſo become abortive. In particular one that was deſigned by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, which was a Seminary for States-men: he propoſed the erecting a Houſe for Perſons of Quality, or of extraordinary Endowments, for the ſtudy of the Civil Law, and of the Latine

1559.

Latine and French Tongues; of whom, some were to be sent with every Ambassadour beyond Sea, to be improved in the Knowledg of Forreign Affairs, in which they should be imploied as they grew capable of them: And others were to be set to work to write the History of the Trasactions abroad, and of Affairs at home. This was to supply one Loss that was like to follow on the Fall of Abbies; for in most of them there was kept a Chronicle of the Times. These were written by Men that were more credulous than judicious; and so they are often more particular in the recital of Trifles, than of important Affairs, and an invincible Humour of lying, when it might raise the Credit of their Order or House, runs through all their Manuscripts. All the Ground that *Cranmer* gained this Year, in which there was so much lost, was a Liberty that all private Persons might have Bibles in their Houses, the managing of which was put in *Cromwell*'s Hands, by a special Patent: *Gardiner* opposed it vehemently, and built much on this, that without Tradition it was impossible to understand the meaning of the Scriptures; and one day before the King, he challenged *Cranmer* to shew any Difference between the Scriptures and the Apostles Canons. It is not known how *Cranmer* managed the Debate, but the Issue of it was this, The King judged in his Favours, and said, He was an old experi-

Book I. 1539.

Book I. enced Captain, and ought not to be troubled by fresh Men and Novices. The
1539. King was now resolved to marry again, and both the Emperour and the King of *France* proposed Matches to him, but they came to no Effect. The Emperour endeavoured by all means possible to separate the King from the Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League; and the Act of the six Articles had done that already in a great measure; for they complained much of the King's Severity in those Points, which were the principal Parts of their Doctrine; such as Communion in both kinds, Private Masses, and the Marriage of the Clergy. *Gardiner* studied to animate the King much against them; he often told him, it was below his Dignity to suffer dull *Germans* to dictate to him: and he suggested that they who would not acknowledg the Emperours Supremacy in the matters of Religion, could not be hearty Friends to the Authority which the King had assumed in them. But the *Germans* did not look on the Emperour as their Soveraign, but only as the *Head* of the Empire; and they did believe that every Prince in his Dominions, and the Diet for the whole Empire, had sufficient Authority for making Laws in Ecclesiastical Affairs; but what other Considerations could not induce the King to, was like to be more powerfully carried on by the Match with *Anne* of *Cleve*, which was now set on foot.

There

There had been a Treaty between her Father and the Duke of *Lorrain*, for the Prince of *Lorrain* and her; but it had gone no farther then a Contract between the Fathers. *Hans Holbin*, the Famous Painter of that Age, took her Picture very much to her Advantage; for the King never liked the Original so well as he had done the Picture. The Duke of *Saxe* disswaded the Match, because the King was going backward in the matter of the Reformation: but *Cromwell* set it on vigorously. It was said, the Lady had great Charms in her Person; but she could speak no Language but Dutch, which the King understood not; nor was she bred to Musick: And she had a stifness in her Breeding, which was not at all accommodated to the King's Inclinations. The Match was at last agreed on; and in the end of *December* she was brought over. The King was impatient, and so went *incognito* to *Rochester*, but was struck when he saw her. There was a Rudeness in her, which did not at all please him: He swore they had brought over a *Flanders Mare* to him; and took up an incurable Aversion to her. He resolved to break the Match if it were possible; but his Affairs made the Friendship of the *German* Princes, to be then very necessary to him; so that he did not think it advisable to put any Affront on the Dukes of *Saxe* and *Cleve*, her Brother, and her Brother in Law. The Emperour had at this time made a hasty Journey through *France*; and

Book I. 1539.

A Treaty for a Match with Ann of Cleve.

Francis

Book I. *Francis* and he had an Interview, where as the King was informed a Project was laid 1540. down againſt him, which was chiefly ſet on by the Pope. *Francis* was thinking how to take *Calais*, and the other places the King had in *France*, from him; it had been alſo eaſy for him to have engaged the King of *Scotland* againſt him: And the People in the North were thought to retain their former Diſpoſition, to riſe ſtill; ſo that a War made on the King in ſuch Circumſtances, was like to find him at a great Diſadvantage. This made the King more tender of offending the *Germans*. But he tried if that Precontract with the Duke of *Lorrains*'s Son, could furniſh him with a fair Excuſe to break the Match. The King expreſſed the great Trouble he was in, both to *Cromwel*, and many of his other Servants; and one of them pleaſantly told him, that Subjects had this Advantage over Princes, that they choſe Wives for themſelves, whereas Princes were obliged to take ſuch as were brought them. But nothing could be built on that Precontract, which was only an Agreement between the Fathers, their Children being under Age; and that was afterwards annulled and broken by the Parents. So *Cranmer*, and *Tonſtall* being required to give their Opinions as Divines, ſaid, there was nothing in it to hinder the King's Marrying the Lady.

The King marries her, but never liked her.

On the the 6*th* of *January* the King Married her; but expreſſed his diſlike of her

ſo

so visibly, that all about him took notice of it: And the day after that he told *Cromwell* that he had not consummated his Marriage, and he believed he should never do it: He suspected she was not a Virgin; and she had ill Smells about her; so that his Aversion to her was encreased to such a Degree, that he believed he should never be able to change it. *Cromwell* did what he could to overcome these Inclinations; but that was not to be done: And tho the King lived five Months with her, and lay often in the Bed with her, yet his Aversion to her rather encreased than abated. She seemed little concerned at it, and expressed a great readiness to concur in every thing, that might disengage him from a Marriage that was so unacceptable to him. Instruments were brought over, to shew that the Contract between her and the Prince of *Lorrain*, was void: But they took some Advantage, because it was not declared whether the Contract was in the Words of the Present, or of the Future Tense. Book I. 1540.

A New Parliament.

In *April* there was a Session of Parliament, and at the opening of it, as the Lord Chancellour declared the matters relating to the State, for which the King had called them: So the Vicegerent spake to them concerning the matters of Religion: He told them there was nothing which the King desired so much as an entire Union among all his Subjects; but some Incendiaries opposed it as much as he promoted it;

Book I. it; and between the raſhneſs on the one hand, and Inveterare Superſtition on the
1540. other, great Diſſentions had ariſen. Theſe were inflamed by the reproachful names of *Papiſt* and *Heretick*: And tho they had now the Word of God in all their hands, yet they ſtudied rather to juſtify their Paſſions out of it, than to govern their Lives by it. In order to the removing this, the King reſolved to ſet forth an Expoſition of the Doctrine of Chriſt, without any corrupt Mixtures; and to retain ſuch Ceremonies as might be of good uſe; and that being done, he was reſolved to puniſh all Tranſgreſſours, of what ſide ſoever they might be: For that end, he had appointed the two Archbiſhops and the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſm*, *Wincheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*; and 11 Divines, *Thirleby*, *Robertſon*, *Cox*, *Day*, *Oglethorp*, *Redmayn*, *Edgeworth*, *Crayford*, *Symons*, *Robins*, and *Treſham*, for ſetling the Doctrine. And the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Walls*, *Ely*, *Sarum*, *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Landaff*, for the Ceremonies. Theſe Committees for Religion, ſat as often as the Affairs of the Parliament could allow of. Two days after the Parliament met, *Cromwell* was made Earl of *Eſſex*, which ſhews it was not the King's Diſlike of the Queen that wrought his Ruine, otherwiſe he had not now raiſed his Title.

The Knights of St. John ſuppreſſed.

A Bill was brought in to the Parliament for ſuppreſſing the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. Theſe were at firſt only an Hoſpital,

ſpital, for entertaining the Pilgrims that went to viſit the Holy Grave: And after that, they became an Order of Knights; and they and the Knights-Templars conducted and guarded the Pilgrims. It was thought for ſome Ages, one of the higheſt Expreſſion of Devotion to Chriſt, to go and viſit the places where he was crucified, buried, and aſcended to Heaven: And it was look'd on as highly Meritorious, to go and fight for recovering the Holy-Land, out of the hands of Infidels; ſo that almoſt every one that died, either vowed to go to the Holy War, or left ſomewhat to ſuch as ſhould go. If they recovered, they bought off their Vow, by giving ſome Lands for the Entertainment of thoſe Knights. There were great Complaints made of the Templars; but whether it was their Wealth that made them a deſirable Prey, or their Guilt that drew Ruine on them, is not certain. They were condemned in a Council, and all of them that could be found, were cruelly put to Death. But the other Order was ſtill continued; and being beaten out of *Judea*, they ſetled at *Rhodes*, out of which they were lately driven; and were now ſetled in *Malta*. They were under a great Maſter, who depended on the Pope and the Emperour. But ſome they could not be brought to ſurrender of their own accord, as others had done; it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs them by Act of Parliament. Another Houſe which they had in *Ireland* was alſo ſuppreſſed, and

Book I. 1540.

Book I. and Pensions were reserved for the Priors and Knights. On the 14*th* of *May*, the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25*th*; a Vote having past, that the Bills should continue in the State they were in.

1540.

Cromwel's *Fall.*

On the 12*th* of *June*, there was a sudden turn at Court, for the Duke of *Norfolk* arrested *Cromwel* of High Treason, and sent him Prisoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies: The meanness of his Birth made the Nobility take it ill, to see the Son of a Black-Smith made an Earl, and have the Garter given him; besides his being Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, Lord Vicegerent; and a little while before, he had also the Mastership of the Rolls. All the Popish Clergy hated him violently: They imputed the Suppression of Monasteries, and the Injunctions that were laid on them, chiefly to his Counsels: And it was thought that it was mainly by his means that the King and the Emperour continued to be in such ill Terms. The King did now understand, that there was no agreement like to be made between the Emperour and *Francis*, for it stuck at the matter of the Dutchy of *Milan*; in which neither of them would yield to the other; and the King was sure, they would both court his Friendship in case of a War; and this made him less concerned for the Favour of the *German* Princes. So, now *Cromwel*'s Counsels became unacceptable: With this a secret Reason concurred. The King did not only hate the Queen, but was now come to be

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in Love with *Katherine Howard*, Neece to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which both raiſed his Intereſt, and depreſt *Cromwel*, who had made the former Match. The King was alſo willing to caſt upon him all the Errours that had been committed of late, and by making him a Sacrifice, he hoped he ſhould regain the Affections of his People. The King had alſo Informations brought him, That he ſecretly encouraged thoſe that oppoſed the ſix Articles, and diſcouraged thoſe who went about the Execution of it. His Fall came ſo ſuddenly, that he had not the leaſt Apprehenſion of it before the Storm brake on him. He had the common Fate of all diſgraced Miniſters; his Friends forſook him, and his Enemies inſulted over him; only *Cranmer* ſtuck to him; and wrote earneſtly to the King in his Favours. 'He ſaid he found that he had al-'ways loved the King above all things; 'and had ſerved him with ſuch Fidelity 'and Succeſs, that he believed no King of '*England* had ever a faithfuller Servant: 'And he wiſhed the King might find ſuch 'a Councellour, who both could, and 'would, ſerve him as he had done. So great and generous a Soul had *Cranmer*, that was not turned by changes in his Friends Fortunes; and would venture on the diſpleaſure of ſo Imperious a Prince, rather than fail in the Duties of Friendſhip. But the King was now reſolved to ruine *Cromwel*, and that unjuſt Practice of Attainting, without hearing the Parties Anſwer

Book I. 1540.

for

Book I. for themſelves, which he had promoted too much before, was now turned upon himſelf. He had ſuch Enemies in the Houſe of Lords, that the Bill of Attainder was diſpatched in two days, being read twice in one day. *Cranmer* was abſent, and no other would venture to ſpeak for him. But he met with more Juſtice in the Houſe of Commons; for it ſtuck ten days there. And in Concluſion, a new Bill was drawn againſt him, and ſent up to the Lords, to which they conſented; and it had the Royal Aſſent.

1540.

His Attainder.

'In it they ſet forth, That tho the King 'had raiſed him from a baſe State, to great 'Dignities; Yet it appeared by many Wit-'neſſes, that were Perſons of Honour, that 'he had been the moſt Corrupt Traitor 'that ever was known: That he had ſet 'many at Liberty that were condemned, 'or ſuſpected of Miſpriſion of Treaſon: 'That he had given Licences for tran-'ſporting out of the Kingdom things pro-'hibited by Proclamation: And had granted 'many Paſsports without ſearch made: 'That he had ſaid, *he was ſure of the King*, 'That he had diſperſed many Erroneous 'Books, contrary to the Belief of the Sa-'crament: And had ſaid, That every 'Man might Adminiſter it as well as a 'Prieſt: That he had licenſed many 'Preachers ſuſpected of *Hereſy*: And had 'ordered many to be diſcharged that were 'committed on that account; and had diſ-'charged all Informers: That he had many

'many Hereticks about him: That a- Book I.
'bove a Year before, he had ſaid, The
'preaching of *Barns* and others, was good; 1540.
'And that he would not turn, tho the King
'did turn; but if the King turned, he
'would fight in Perſon againſt him, and
'all that turned: And drawing out his
'Dagger, he wiſht that might pierce him to
'the Heart, if he ſhould not do it; he had
'alſo ſaid, If he lived a year or two longer,
'it ſhould not be in the King's Power to
'hinder it. He had likewiſe been found guil-
'ty of great Oppreſſion and Bribery: And
'when he heard, that ſome Lords were tak-
'ing Counſel againſt him, he had threatned,
'that he would raiſe great ſtirrs in *England*:
'For theſe things, he was Attainted both
'of High Treaſon and Hereſy. A Proviſo
was added, for ſecuring the Church of *Wells*, of which he had been Dean.

This was lookt on as very hard Meaſure. It was believed, That he had at leaſt Verbal Orders from the King, for the Licences and Orders that were complained of; and perhaps he could have ſhewed ſome in Writing, if he had been heard to make his Anſwers. Bribery ſeemed to be caſt on him, only to render him odious; but no Particulars were mentioned. Nor was it credible, That he could have ſpoken ſuch Words of the King, as were alledged, eſpecially when he was in the height of his Favour; and if he had ſpoken them above a Year before, it is not to be imagined that they could have been ſo long *Cenſures paſt upon it.*

Book I. kept secret; and what was said of his drawing out a Dagger, look'd like a design to affix an overt Act to them.

1540.

The King's Marriage annulled.

This being done, The King went on to move for a Divorce. An Address was moved to be made to him by the Lords, that he would suffer his Marriage to be examined. *Cranmer* and others were sent down to desire the Concurrence of the Commons; and they ordered 20 of their number to go along with the Lords, who went all in a body to the King. He granted their desire, the matter being concerted before. So a Commission was sent to the Convocation, to discuss it: *Gardiner* opened it to them; and they appointed a Committee for the Examination of Witnesses. The Substance of the whole Evidence amounted to these Particulars; That the matter of the Precontract with the Prince of *Lorrain*, was not fully cleared; and it did not appear, if it was made by the Queen; or whether it was in the Words of the present time, or not. That the King had married her against her Will; and had not given an inward and compleat Consent; and that he had never consummated the Marriage; so that they saw he could have no Issue by the Queen. Upon these grounds the whole Convocation with one consent annulled the Marriage, and declared both Parties free. This was the grossest piece of Compliance that the King had from his Clergy in his whole Reign: For as they knew that there was nothing in the

pretended Precontract; so by voiding the Marriage, because the Consent was not internal and free, they made a most pernicious Precedent for breaking all publick Treaties; for none can know Men's Hearts; it would be easy for every one to pretend that he had not given a perfect Consent; and that being allowed, there could be no Confidence nor safety among Men any more. And in the Process for the King's first Divorce, they had laid it down as a Principle, that a Marriage was compleat, tho it were never consummated. But in a Word, the King was resolved to be rid of the Queen; and the Clergy were resolved not to offend him: And they rather sought out Reasons to give a colour to their Sentence, then past it on the force of those Reasons. *Cromwel* was required to send a Declaration of all he knew concerning the Marriage, which he did; but ended in these most abject Words, 'Written 'with the heavy Heart, and trembling 'Hand, of your Highness's most heavy, and 'most miserable Prisoner, and poor Slave, '*Tho. Cromwel*: and under his Subscription 'he wrote, Most Sacred Prince, I cry for, *Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.* The Judgment of the Convocation was reported to the House of Lords by *Cranmer*, and the Reasons were opened by *Gardiner*. They were sent down to the Commons to give them the same account; and both Houses were satisfied with it. Next day, some Lords were sent to the Queen, who had retired

Book I. 1540.

Book I. to *Richmond*: They told her, The King was resolved to declare her his adopted Sister, 1540. and to settle 4000 *l.* a Year on her, if she would consent to it; which she cheerfully embraced; and it being left to her choice, either to live in *England*, or to return to her Brother; She preferred the former. They prest her to write to her Brother, that all this matter was done with her good Will; that the King used her, as a Father; and that therefore he, and the other Allies, should not take this ill at his hands. She was a little averse to this, but was prevailed on to do it. When things were thus prepared, the Act confirming the Judgment of the Convocation, past, without any Opposition. An Act past, mitigating one Clause in the Act of the six Articles; by which, the pains of Death for the Marriage or Incontinence of the Clergy, were changed into a Forfeiture of their Goods and Benefices. Another Act past, Authorizing those Committees of Bishops and Divines that had been named by the King, both for the Doctrine and Ceremonies, to go on in it; and appointing, that what should be agreed on by them, and Published with the King's Approbation, should bind the Subjects as much as if every Particular in it had been ennumerated in that Act, any Law or Custome to the contrary notwithstanding: But a Proviso was added, That nothing might be done by them contrary to the Laws then in force: Which Contradiction

in

in the Proviſos, ſeems to have been put in on deſign, to keep all Eccleſiaſtical Proceedings under the Inſpection of the Secular Courts, ſince they are the only Expounders of Acts of Parliament. Another Act paſt, That no Pretence of a Precontract ſhould be made uſe of to annul a Marriage duly Solemnized and Conſummated: And that no Degrees of Kindred, but thoſe ennumerated in the Law of *Moſes*, might hinder a Marriage. This laſt was added, To enable the King to marry *Katherine Howard*, that was Couſin German to *Ann Boleyn*, which was one of the Degrees prohibited by the Canon Law; but the reaſon of the former part is not known. It directly condemns the King's Divorce of *Ann Boleyn*, grounded on a pretended Precontract. Book I. 1540.

The Province of *Canterbury* gave the King a Subſidy of 4 *s.* in the Pound, to be payed in two Years, with a Preamble of high Acknowledgments of their Happineſs under his Protection. A Subſidy was alſo asked of the Laity, but in the Houſe of Commons it was much oppoſed: Many ſaid they had given the King the Abbey-Lands, in hopes that no Subſidies ſhould have been any more demanded; and it ſhewed a ſtrange Profuſeneſs, that now within a Year after that, a Subſidy was demanded. But it was anſwered, That the King had been at great charge in fortifying his Coaſts; and in keeping up ſuch Leagues beyond Sea, as preſerved the Nation in

Book I. safety; a Tenth and four 15*ths* were granted. Several Bills of Attainder were
1540. past. And in Conclusion, the King sent a General Pardon, out of which, *Cromwel*, and divers others were excepted; and then the Parliament was dissolved. *Cromwel*'s mean Addresses could not preserve him: So
Cromwels *Death.* he was executed on the 28 of *July*: He thanked God for bringiug him to die in that manner, which was just, on the account of his 'Sins against God, and his Offences against 'his Prince. He declared that he doubted 'of no Article of the Catholick Faith, nor 'of any Sacrament of the Church. He 'said, He had been seduced, but now he 'died in the Catholick Faith; and denied 'he had supported the Preachers of ill Opi-'nions. He desired all their Prayers; and prayed very fervently for himself; and thus did he end his days.

He rose meerly by the strength of his Natural Parts; for his Education was suitable to his mean Extraction: Only he had all the New Testament in Latin, by Heart. He carried his Greatness with Extraordinary Moderation; and fell rather under the weight of Popular *Odium*, than Guilt. At his Death he mixed none of the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome* with his Devotions: So it was said, that he used the Word, *Catholick Faith*, in its true sense, and in Opposition to the Novelties of the Church of *Rome*: Yet his Ambiguous way of expressing himself, made the Papists say, that he died repenting of his *Heresy*.

Herefy: But the Proteſtants ſaid that he died in the ſame Perſwaſions in which he lived. With him fell the Office of the King's *Vicegerent*, and none after him have aſpired to that Character, that proved ſo fatal to him who firſt carried it. It was believed that the King lamented his Death when it was too late; and the Miſeries that fell on the new Queen, and on the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Family, were look'd on as Strokes from Heaven on them, for their cruel proſecutiug this unfortunate Miniſter. With his Fall, the Progreſs of the Reformation ſtopt; for *Cranmer* could never gain much Ground after this, and indeed many hoped that he ſhould be quickly ſent after *Cromwell*; ſome complained of him in the Houſe of Commons, and Informations were brought the King, that the chief Encouragement that the Hereticks had, came from him. Book I. 1540.

A Book of Religion ſet out by Biſhops.

The Eccleſiaſtical Committees imployed by the King, were now at work, and gave the laſt finiſhing to a Book formerly prepared, but at this time corrected and explained in many Particulars. They began with the Explanation of *Faith*, which according to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, was thought an implicit believing whatever the Church propoſed: But the Reformers made it the chief Subject of their Books and Sermons, to perſwade People to believe in Chriſt, and not in the Church; and made great uſe of thoſe Places in which it was ſaid, *That Chriſtians are juſtified*

Book I. 1540. *by Faith only*: tho some explained this in such a manner, that it gave their Adversaries Advantages to charge them that they denied the necessity of Good Works; but they all taught that tho they were not necessary to Justification, yet they were necessary to Salvation. They differed also in their Notion of Good Works: The Church of *Rome* taught, that the Honour done to God in his Images, or to the Saints in their Shrines and Relicks, or to the Priests, were the best sort of Good Works: Whereas the Reformers prest Justice and Mercy most, and discovered the Superstition of the other. The Opinion of the Merit of Good Works, was also so highly raised, that many thought they purchased Heaven by them. This the Reformers did also correct, and taught the People to depend meerly upon the Death and Intercession of Christ. Others moved subtiller Questions, As whether Obedience was an essential part of Faith, or only a Consequent of it? This was a Nicety scarce becoming Divines, that built only on the Simplicity of the Scriptures, and condemned the Subtilties of the Schools; and it was said, that Men of ill Lives abused this Doctrine, and thought that if they could but assure themselves that Christ died for them, they were safe enough.

The Explanation of Faith. So now when they settled the Notion of *Faith*, they divided it into two sorts: The one was a Perswasion of the Truth of the Gospel; but the other carried with it

it a Submiſſion to the Will of God; and both Hope, Love, and Obedience belonged to it; which was the Faith profeſſed in Baptiſm, and ſo much extoll'd by St. *Paul*. It was not to be ſo underſtood as if it were a Certainty of our being predeſtinated, which may be only a Preſumption; ſince all God's Promiſes are made to us on Conditions; but it was an entire receiving the whole Goſpel according to our Baptiſmal Vows. *Cranmer* took great Pains to ſtate this matter right; and made a large Collection of many places, all written with his own Hand, both out of Antient and Modern Authors, concerning Faith, Juſtification and the Merit of Good Works; and concluded with this, That our Juſtification was to be aſcribed only to the Merits of Chriſt; and that thoſe who are juſtified muſt have Charity as well as Faith, but that neither of theſe was the meritorious Cauſe of Juſtification. After this was ſtated, they made next a large and full Explanation of the Apoſtles Creed with great Judgment, and many excellent practical Inferences; the Definition they gave of the Catholick Church runs thus: 'It comprehended all Aſſemblies of Men in the 'whole World that received the Faith of 'Chriſt, who ought to hold an Unity of 'Love and Brotherly Agreement together, 'by which they became Members of the 'Catholick Church: After this they explained the ſeven Sacraments.

Book I. 1540.

In

Book I. 1540. *And of the Sacraments.*

In opening these there were great Debates; for, as was formerly mentioned, the method used, was to open the Point enquired into by proposing many Queries, and every one was to give in his Answer to these, with the Reasons of it; and then others were appointed to make an Abstract of those things, in which they all either agreed or differed. The Original Papers relating to these Points are yet preserved, which shew with how great Consideration they proceeded in the Changes that were then made. *Cranmer* had at this time some particular Opinions concerning Ecclesiastical Offices; That they were delivered from the King, as other Civil Offices were, and that Ordination was not indispensibly necessary, and was only a Ceremony, that might be used or laid aside; but that the Authority was conveyed to Church-men only by the King's Commission; yet he delivered his Opinion in this matter with great Modesty, and he not only subscribed the Book in which the contrary Doctrine was established, but afterwards published it in a Book which he writ in King *Edward*'s days, from whence it appears that he changed his Mind in this Particular. Baptism was explained as had been done formerly; Penance was made to consist in the Absolution of the Priests which had been formerly declared only to be desirable, where it could be had. In the Communion, both Transubstantiation, Private Masses, and Communion in one kind, were asserted: They asserted the Obligation of the

the Levitical Law about the Degrees of Marriage, and the Indiſſolubleneſs of that Bond. They ſet out the Divine Inſtitution of Prieſts and Deacons; and that no Biſhop had Authority over another: they made a long Excurſion againſt the Pope's Pretenſions, and for juſtifying the King's Supremacy. They ſaid, Confirmation was inſtituted by the Apoſtles, and was profitable, but not neceſſary to Salvation: and they aſſerted extream Unction to have been commanded by the Apoſtles, for the Health both of Soul and Body. Then were the Ten Commandments explained, the ſecond was added to the firſt, but the Words, *For I am the Lord thy God*, &c. were left out. It was declared, that no Godly Honour was to be done unto Images, and that they ought only to be reverenced, for their ſakes whom they repreſented: therefore the preferring of one Image to another, and the making Pilgrimages and Offerings to them, was condemned; but the cenſing them or kneeling before them was permitted; yet the People were to be taught that theſe things were done only to the Honour of God. Invocation of Saints, as Interceſſors, was allowed, but immediate Addreſſes to them for the Bleſſings that were prayed for, was condemned. The ſtrict reſt from Labour on the ſeventh day, was declared to be Ceremonial; but it was neceſſary to reſt from Sin, and Carnal Pleaſure, and to follow Holy Duties. The other Commandments were explained in a very

Book I. 1540.

Book I. very plain and practical way. Then was the Lord's Prayer explained, and it was 1540. aſſerted that the People ought only to pray in their Vulgar Tongues, for exciting their Devotion the more: The Angels Salutation to the Virgin was alſo paraphraſed. They handled Free-will and defined it to be a Power by which the Will guided by Reaſon, did without conſtraint diſcern and chooſe Good and Evil, the former by the help of God's Spirit, and the latter of it ſelf. Grace was ſaid to be offered to all Men, but was made effectual by the Application of the Free-will to it: and Grace and Free-will did conſiſt well together, the one being added for the help of the other; and therefore Preachers were warned not to depreſs either of them too much, in order to the Exaltation of the other. Men were juſtified freely by the Grace of God, but that was applied by Faith, in which both the Fear of God, Repentance, and Amendment of Life were included. All curious reaſonings about Predeſtination were condemned; for Men could not be aſſured of their Election, but by feeling the Motions of God's Holy Spirit appearing in a good and a vertuous Life, and perſevering in that to the end. Good Works were neceſſary, which were not the Superſtitious Inventions of Monks and Friars, nor only moral Good Works done by the Power of Nature, but were the Works of Charity flowing from a pure Heart and Faith unfeigned: Faſting and the other Fruits of Penance

Pennance were alſo Good Works; but of an Inferiour Nature to Juſtice and the other Vertues: Good Works were meritorious, yet ſince they were wrought in Men by God's Spirit; all boaſting was excluded. They ended with an account of Prayer for Souls departed, almoſt the ſame that was in the Articles publiſhed before. Book I. 1540.

The Book is publiſhed.

The Book was writ in a plain and Maſculine Stile, fit for weak Capacities, and yet ſtrong and weighty: and the parts of it that related to Practice were admirable. To this they added a Preface, declaring the Care they had uſed in examining the Scriptures and Antient Doctors, out of whom they compiled this Book. The King added another Preface, in which he condemned the Hypocriſy and Superſtition of one ſort, and the Preſumption of another ſort; to correct both, he had ordered this Book to be made, and publiſhed: and he required his People to read and print it in their Hearts, and to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility for receiving it aright: And he charged the Inferiour People to remember that their Office was not to teach, but to be taught, and to practiſe what they heard, rather than diſpute about it. But this Preface was not added till two Years after the Book was put out; for it mentions the Approbation that was given to it in Parliament, and the Reſtraint that was put on reading the Scriptures, of which an account ſhall be given afterwards.

The

Book I. The Reformers were dissatisfied with many things in the Book, yet were glad to
1540. find the Morals of Religion so well opened; for the Purity of Soul, which that might effect, would dispose People to sound Opinions; many Superstitious Practices were also condemned, and the Gospel-Covenant was rightly stated. One Article was also asserted in it, which opened the way to a further Reformation; for every National Church was declared to be a compleat Body, with Power to reform Heresies, and do every thing that was necessary for preserving its own Purity, or governing its Members. The Popish Party thought they had recovered much Ground, that seemed lost formerly: They knew the Reformers would never submit to all things in this Book, which would alienate the King from them; but they were safe, being resolved to comply with him in every thing, and without doing that, it was like to be somewhat uneasy to live in *England*; for the King's Peevishness grew upon him with his Age. Now the Correspondence between the King and the *German* Princes fell upon the Change that was made in the Ministry, and a secret Treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperour. All the Changes that the Committee appointed for the Ceremonies made, was only the Rasure of some Offices and Collects, and the setting out of a new Primer, with the Vulgar Devotions for the Common People: But the Changes were not so great, as that it was necessary

neceſſary to reprint the Miſſals or Breviaries; for the old Books were ſtill made uſe of. Yet theſe Raſures were ſuch, that in Queen *Mary*'s time the old Books were all called in, and the Nation was put to the Charge of buying new ones, which was conſiderable, ſo great was the Number of the Books of Offices. Book I. 1540.

The Popiſh Party ſtudied now to engage the King into new Severities againſt the Reformers; the firſt Inſtances of theſe fell on three Preachers, *Barnes*, *Gerrard*, and *Jerome*, who had been early wrought on by *Luther*'s Books. *Barnes* had during *Wolſey*'s Greatneſs, reflected much on him in a Sermon which he preached at *Cambridg*; but *Gardiner* was then his Friend, and brought him off; he having abjured ſome Articles that were objected to him: yet upon new Complaints he was again put in Priſon, but he made his Eſcape and fled to *Germany*; and became ſo conſiderable, that he was ſent over to *England* by the King of *Denmark*, as Chaplain to his Ambaſſadours; but he went back again. The Biſhop of *Hereford* meeting him at *Smalcald*, ſent him over to *England*, with a ſpecial Recommendation to *Cromwell*: he was after that, much imployed in the Negotiations which the King had with the *Germans*; and had the misfortune to be the firſt that was ſent with the Propoſition for *Anne* of *Cleve*. In Lent this Year *Bonner* appointed thoſe three to have their turns at St. *Paul*'s Croſs; *Gardiner* preached alſo there

Barnes *and others fall into Trouble.*

Book I. there; and fell on Juſtification, which he handled according to the Notions of the
1540. Schools: But *Barnes* and the other two did directly refute his Sermon, when it came to their turns to preach, not without indecent Reflections on his Perſon. This was repreſented to the King as a great Inſolence, he being both a Biſhop and a Privy Counſellour; ſo the King commanded them to go and give him Satisfaction: he ſeemed to carry the matter with much Moderation, and readily forgave all that was perſonal, tho it was believed that it ſtuck deep in him. In Concluſion, they confeſſed their Indiſcretion, and promiſed for the future to be more cautious, and renounced ſome Articles of which it was thought their Sermons ſavoured; as that God was the Author of Sin, that Good Works were not neceſſary to Salvation, and that Princes ought not to be obeyed in all their juſt Laws. Some other Niceties were in diſpute concerning Juſtification; but the King thought theſe were not of ſuch Conſequence, that it was neceſſary to make them abjure them. *Barnes* and his Friends were required to preach a Recantation Sermon at the Spittle, and to ask *Gardiner*'s Pardon; but tho they obeyed this, yet it was ſaid that in one place, they juſtified what they recanted in another; at which the King was ſo much provoked, that without hearing them, he ſent them to the *Tower*. At that time *Cromwell* either could not protect them, or would not interpoſe in a matter which

which gave the King so great Offence. When the Parliament came, they were attainted of Heresy, without being brought to make their Answers: no particular Errors were objected to them, only they were condemned to be burnt as detestable Hereticks in general Words. In the same Act by which they were condemned: four other were attainted of Treason, for being confederated with *Reginald Pool*, and for intending to surprize *Calais*, and as there was a strange mixture in their Condemnation, so the like was in their Executions: for *Abel Featherston*, and *Powell*, that were attainted in the same Parliament for owning the Pope's Supremacy, were executed with them, and were coupled together in the Hurdles in which they were carried to *Smithfield*; the King in this affecting an extravagant Appearance of Impartiality in his Justice. Book I. 1540.

Barnes being tied to the Stake, went over the Articles of the Creed, and declared his Belief of them all; and that he abhorred the impious Opinions of some *German* Anabaptists. He asserted the necessity of Good Works, but ascribed Justification wholly to the Merits of Christ; he professed all due Reverence to the Saints; but said he saw no Warrant to pray for them; he asked the Sheriff and the People, if they knew for what they were condemned, and what Heresies they were accused of: but none made Answer; he prayed God to forgive all that sought their Death, and *And burnt*

Book I. in particular, *Gardiner*, if he had done it: then prayed for the King and the Prince,
1540. and expreſſed his Loyalty to the King; that he believed all his juſt Laws were to be obeyed for Conſcience ſake, and that in no Caſe it was lawful to reſiſt him: he ſent ſome Deſires to the King, as that he would apply the Abby-Lands to good Uſes, and the Relief of his poor Subjects; that he would puniſh the Contempt of Marriage that was ſo common, and would put a ſtop to the Liberty many took of caſting off their Wives, and living in Whoredom; that Swearers might be puniſhed, and that ſince the King had begun to ſet forth the Chriſtian Religion, that he would go on with it; for a great deal remained yet to be done: he asked the Forgiveneſs of all People whom he might have at any time offended, and ſo turned and prepared himſelf for Death: then the other two ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; they declared their Faith, and exhorted the People to a good Life, and mutual Love; and they all prayed and embraced one another; after that, the Fire was ſet to. The Conſtancy they expreſſed, together with the Gentleneſs of their Deportment towards their Enemies, made great Impreſſions on the Spectators, and caſt a heavy Imputation on *Gardiner*, as the Procurer of their Deaths, tho he juſtified himſelf in an Apology which he printed; in which he denied any other Acceſſion to it, but giving his Vote to the Bill of Attainder. *Bonner* began now to ſhew himſelf in

his own Colours: He had courted *Cromwell* more than any Person whatsoever; yet the very day after his Disgrace, he shewed his Ingratitude; for *Grafton* that had printed the Bible, and was much in *Cromwell*'s Favour upon that account, meeting *Bonner*, expressed his Sorrow for *Cromwell*'s being sent to the *Tower*; but the other answered, that it had been good he had been there much sooner: *Grafton* saw his Error in speaking so freely, and went from him: but some Verses being printed in *Cromwell*'s Praise; *Bonner* informed the Council what *Grafton* had said to him, and so thought it was probable he had printed them, yet he had so many Friends that he was let go. He procured many to be indicted upon the Act of the six Articles; but an Order came from the King to stop further Proceedings; yet he pick'd out one Instance which did equally discover his brutal Cruelty, and his want of Judgment. One *Mekins* not above fifteen Years old, had said somewhat against the Corporal Presence, and in Commendation of Dr. *Barnes*: The Witnesses differed in their Evidence, one swore he had said the Sacrament was only a *Ceremony*; the other swore he had said it was only a *Signification*: so two Grand Juries returned an *Ignoramus* on the Bill; upon which he fell into a fit of Cursing and violent Rage, and he made the second Grand Jury go aside and consider better of it, they being terrified, found the Bill, and he was condemned to be burnt; but hoping to be pre-

Book I. 1540.

Book I. 1540. ſerved by what he ſhould ſay at the Stake; he railed at *Barnes*, and praiſed *Bonner* much: yet that did not ſave him. Two were burnt at *Salisbury*, and two at *Lincoln*, upon the ſame Statute; beſides great Numbers that were put in Priſon.

New Sees founded.

In the end of this Year, the King began to endow the new Biſhopricks: *Weſtminſter* was the firſt, in which he endowed a Biſhoprick, a Deanry, 12 Prebendaries, a Quire, and other Officers. The Year after this, he endowed *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter*, and *Peterborough*; but in theſe Cathedrals he only endowed ſix Prebendaries; two Years after he likewiſe endowed *Oxford* and *Briſtol*. The Foundations had Preambles are almoſt the ſame with that of the Act of Parliament that empowred him to erect them; he promoted the Biſhops to thoſe Sees by a ſpecial Writ; tho that was to go thereafter in the way of Election, as it was in the other Sees: he alſo converted the Priories of *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Dureſme*, *Worceſter*, *Ely*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carlile*, into Collegiate Churches, conſiſting of Deans and Prebendaries. But as all this came much far ſhort of what the King had at firſt intended; ſo the Channel in which thoſe Foundations run, differed much from what *Cranmer* had projected, whoſe Intereſt was ſo low at Court, that his Opinion was not now regarded as it had been formerly. He intended to have reſtored the Cathedrals to what they had been at firſt, to be Colleges and Nurſeries for the Dioceſs, and to have ſet up Readers of the

Learned Tongues, and of Divinity, in them, that ſo a conſiderable number of young Clerks might have been trained up under the Biſhop's Eye, both in their Studies, and in a Courſe of Devotion; to be by him, put afterwards in Livings, according to their Merit and Improvements. The want of ſuch Houſes for the ſtrict Education of thoſe who are to ſerve in the Church, has been the occaſion of many fatal Conſequences ſince that time, by the Scandals which Men initiated to the Sacred Functions, before they were well prepared for them, have given the World. The Popiſh Party beyond Sea cenſured theſe Endowments, both as being a very defective Reſtitution of the Lands that had been invaded, and as an Invaſion on the Spiritual Authority, when the King divided Dioceſſes, and removed Churches from one Juriſdiction and put them under another. To which it was anſwered, That as their Practices againſt the King had put him to ſuch a charge, that he could not execute what he at firſt intended; ſo both the Roman Emperours, and other Chriſtian Kings, had regulated and divided the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and made Primates and Patriarchs as they pleaſed. *Ely* in *England*, was taken out of *Lincoln*, only by the King and his Parliament; tho P. *Nicolaus* did officiouſly ſend a Confirmation of it, that being an Art of the Papacy to offer Confirmations unſought; and afterwards to found a Right on ſuch a Precedent: So that the

Book I. 1540.

Book I. receiving a Confirmation, was made to pass, for an acknowledgment of an Authority in that See to grant it; upon which the Popes afterwards pretended, that such things could not be done without their consent. Here the Series of the King's Advances towards a Reformation, ends; what he did after this, was by Starts, backwards or forwards, as the humour took him: Nor was he steady in his Councils in State-Affairs: He had no Minister about him, that had an Ascendent over him. Sickness and Years increased his Imperious Temper; so that his Counsellors had a hard task to please him, and many Errours were committed by him.

1540.

1541. *The Bible set up in Churches.* A new Impression of the Bible was at this time finished: And the King required all Parishes to provide one of them by the next *All-hallowtide*, under the pain of 40 *s.* a Month after that, till they had got one. The People were also charged not to dispute about it, nor to disturb Divine Service by reading it during the Mass; but to read it humbly and reverently for their Instruction and Edification. Six of these were set up in divers Places of St. *Pauls*: But *Bonner* being afraid of the Mischief they might do, posted up near them an Admonition to the People, That none should read them with vain Glory, and corrupt Affections, or draw Multitudes about them when they read them. But great numbers gathered about those that read; and such as had good Voices, used to be reading them

them aloud a great part of the Day. Many ſet their Children to School, and when they had learn'd to read, they carri'd them to Church to read the Bibles; ſome began likewiſe to argue from them, particularly againſt taking away the Chalice in the Communion, and the Worſhip in an unknown Tongue. Upon which, *Bonner* ſet up a new Advertiſement, and threatned to remove them, if theſe abuſes were not corrected: And upon the Complaints made of thoſe things, the free uſe of the Scriptures was afterwards much reſtrained. This Year the King added to his former Foundations, two Collegiat Churches at *Burton* upon *Trent*, and *Thornton*, conſiſting of a Dean and four Prebendaries apiece. *Cranmer* obſerving the Exceſſes in Biſhops Tables, by which, under the name of Hoſpitality, ſo much was conſumed in great Entertainments, that they were diſabled from more neceſſary and profitable Acts of Charity, made a Regulation, that an Archbiſhop ſhould not have above ſix Diſhes of Meat, and four of Banquet; a Biſhop not above five, of Meat, and four of Banquet; a Dean or Arth-deacon, not above four, and two of the one, and the other; and Inferiour Church-men might not have above two Diſhes. But this did not take effect; and Sumptuous Tables ſtill continued; tho the Revenues were much impaired; and thus beſides the other ill Effects of theſe, a great part of the Church-rents goes for Entertaining the Rich, which ſhould be applied to the Poor.

Book I. 1541.

Book I. This Summer the King went to *York*, to meet his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, who promised him an Enterview there. He was an Extraordinary Prince, a great Patron, both of Learning and Justice; but out of measure addicted to his Pleasures. The Clergy of *Scotland* were very Apprehensive of his seeing his Uncle, lest King *Henry* might have perswaded him to follow the Copy he had set to his Neighbours: and they used such perswasions, that these seconded by a Message from *France*, diverted the King from his purpose. Here I shall digress a little, to give an account of the State of *Scotland*, at this time. The long Alliance between *Scotland* and *France*, made that *Paris* was the place where the Learned of that Nation had their Education: Yet after the Year 1412, Learning came to have more footing there, and Universities were set up in several Episcopal Sees. At the same time, some of *Wickliff*'s Followers began to creep into *Scotland*; and one *Resby*, an Englishman, was burnt (1407) for teaching some Opinions contrary to the Pope's Authority. Some Years after that, *Paul Craw*, an *Hussite* and *Bohemian*, was burnt, for infusing the Opinions of that Party, into some at St. *Andrews*. About the end of that Century, *Lollardy*, as it was then called, was spread into many parts of the Diocess in *Glasgow*: For which, several Persons of Quality were accused: But they answered the Archbishop of that See, with such Assurance, that he dismissed them

1541. *The Affairs of Scotland.*

them; having admoniſh'd them, to con- Book I.
tent themſelves with the Faith of the
Church, and to beware of new Doctrines. 1541.
The ſame Spirit of Ignorance, Immorality, and Superſtition, had over-run the Clergy there, that was ſo much complained of in the other parts of *Europe*: only it may be ſuppoſed, that in Nations leſs Polite and Learned, it was in Proportion greater then it was elſewhere. The total neglect of the Paſtoral Care, and the groſs Scandals of the Clergy, poſſeſſed the People with ſuch Prejudices againſt them, that they were eaſily diſpoſed to hearken to new Preachers. *Patrick Hamilton*, nobly born, Nephew by his Father to the Earl of *Aran*, and to the Duke of *Albany* by his Mother, was bred up on deſign to be highly preferred; and had an Abby given him for proſecuting his Studies. He went to travel, and in *Germany* grew acquainted with *Luther* and *Melanchthon*, and being poſſeſſed with their Opinions, he returned to *Scotland*, and laid open the Errours and Corruptions then received in the Church. He was invited to St. *Andrews*, to confer concerning theſe Points, upon which he was condemned, and put in Priſon. Articles were objected to him; and upon his refuſing to abjure them, *Beaton*, Archbiſhop of St *Andrews*, with the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, 3 Biſhops, and 5 Abbots, condemned him, as an obſtinate Heretick, and delivered him to the Secular Power, and ordered the Execution to be

Book I. be that Afternoon; for the King had gone in Pilgrimage to *Ross*; and they were 1541. afraid, left upon his Return, *Hamilton*'s Friends might have interceeded effectually for him. He was tied to the Stake, and expressed great Joyes in his Sufferings, since by these he was to enter into Everlasting Life. A Train of Powder being fired, it did not kindle the Fewel, but only burnt his Face: So a stop was made till more Powder was brought; and in that time the Friars call'd oft to him to recant, and pray to the Virgin, and to say the *Salve Regina*: One Frier *Campbel*, was very officious among the rest, who had been oft with him in Prison. He answered him, That he knew he was not an Heretick, and had confess'd it to him in private; and he charged him to answer for that to God. By this time the Gun-powder was brought, and the Fire was kindled, and he died, often repeating these Words, *Lord Jesus receive my Soul. Campbel* became soon after, Frantick, and died within a Year. Both these laid together, made great Impressions on the People: And now that these Points began to be inquired into, many received the new Opinions. *Seaton*, a *Dominican*, the King's Confessor, preaching in Lent, set out the Nature of true Repentance, and the Method to it, without mixing the Directions which the Friars commonly gave on that Subject; and when another Friar shewed the defectiveness of what he had taught, he defended

himſelf in another Sermon, and reflected on thoſe Biſhops that did not preach, and called them *dumb Dogs*. But the Clergy would not meddle with him, till they found him in ill Terms with the King; and the freedom he uſed in reproving him for his Vices, quickly alienated the King from him, upon which they reſolved to fall on him; but he withdrew into *England*, and wrote to the King, taxing the Clergy for their Cruelty, and praying him to reſtrain it. One *Forreſt*, an ignorant Benedictine, was accuſed for having ſpoken Honourably of *Patrick Hamilton*, and was put in Priſon. In Confeſſion to a Friar, he acknowledged, he thought he was a good Man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. The Friar diſcovered this, and it was received as Evidence, and upon it he was condemned and burnt. Divers others were brought into the Biſhop's Courts, of whom, the greateſt part abjured; but two were more reſolute: one *Gourley* denied Purgatory, and the Pope's Authority; another was *David Smiton*, who being a Fiſherman, had refuſed to pay the Tithe of his Fiſh; and when the Vicar came to take them, he ſaid, the Tithe was taken where the Stock grew, and therefore he threw the tenth Fiſh into the Sea: For this and other Opinions, he was condemned, and they were both burnt at one Stake. Several others were accuſed; of whom ſome fled to *England*, and others went over to *Germany*. The Changes made in

Book I. 1541.

Eng-

Book I. *England*, raiſed in all the People a curioſity of ſearching into matters of Religion, and that was always fatal to Superſtition. Pope *Clement* the *7th*, wrote earneſtly to the King of *Scotland*, to continue firm to the Catholick Faith: Upon which he called a Parliament, and made new Laws, for maintaining the Pope's Authority, and proceeding againſt *Hereticks*; yet the Pope could not engage him to make War on *England*. King *Henry* ſent *Barlow*, Biſhop of St. *Davids*, to him, with ſome Books that were written in Defence of his Proceedings, and deſired him to examine them Impartially. He alſo propoſed the Enterview at *York*, and a Match between him and Lady *Mary*, the King's eldeſt Daughter; and promiſed that he ſhould be made Duke of *York*, and Lord Lieutenant of the whole Kingdom. Yet the Clergy diverted him from this, and perſwaded him to go in Perſon to *France*, and court the Daughter of that King, *Magdalene*. He married her in *January* 1537; but ſhe died in *May*. She had been bred in the Queen of *Navarre*'s Court, and ſo was well diſpoſed towards the Reformation. Upon her Death, the King married *Mary* of *Guiſe*; ſhe was a Branch of the Family of all *Europe*, that was moſt zealouſly addicted to the old Superſtition; and her Intereſt joined with the Clergy's, engaged the King to become a violent Perſecuter of all that were of another mind.

1541.

The

The King was very expenſive, both in his Pleaſures, and Buildings; and had a numerous Race of Baſtards; ſo that he came to want Mony much. The Nobility propoſed to him, the ſeizing on the Abbey-Lands, as his Uncle had done. The Clergy on the other hand adviſed him, to proceed ſeverely againſt all ſuſpected of Hereſy: By which means, according to the Liſts they ſhewed him, he might raiſe 100000 Crowns a Year: They alſo adviſed him to provide his Children to Abbies, and Priories; and repreſented to him, That if he continued ſtedfaſt in the old Religion, he would ſtill have a great Party in *England*; and might be made the Head of a League, which was then in Project againſt King *Henry*. This ſo far prevailed with him, that as he made four of his Sons, Abbots and Priors, ſo he gave way to the perſecuting Spirit of the Clergy: Upon which, many were cited to anſwer for *Hereſy*; of theſe many abjured; and ſome were baniſht. A Canon Regular, a Secular Prieſt, two Friars, and a Gentleman, were burnt. *Forreſt*, the Canon Regular, had been reproved by his Ordinary, the Biſhop of *Dunkell*, for meddling with the Scriptures too much. He told him, he had lived long, and had never known what was in the Old or New Teſtament; but contented himſelf with his Portoiſe and Pontifical, and that he might come to repent it, if he troubled himſelf with ſuch Fancſies. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, was

Book I.

1541. *A Perſecution ſet on foot in* Scotland.

Book I. was a very moderate Man, and disliked cruel Proceedings. *Russel*, a Friar, and
1541. *Kennedy*, a young Man, of 18 Years of Age, were brought before him; they expressed wonderful Joy, and a steady Resolution in their Sufferings. And after a long dispute between *Russel* and the Bishop's Divines, *Russel* concluded, *This is your Hour, and the Power of Darkness; go on, and fill up the Measures of your Iniquities.* The Archbishop was unwilling to give Sentence; he said, he thought these Executions did the Church more Hurt than Good. But those about him, told him, He must not take a Way different from the rest of the Bishops; and threatned him so, that he pronounced Sentence. They were burned; but they gave such Demonstrations of Patience and Joy, as made no small Impression on all that saw it, or heard of it. Among those that were in trouble, *George Buchanan* was one, who at the King's Instigations, had writ a very sharp Poem against the *Franciscans*, but was now abandoned by him. He made his Escape, and lived 20 Years in Forraign Parts, and at last returned to do his Country Honour; and what by his Immortal Poems, what by his History of *Scotland*, he shewed both how great a Master he was in the Roman Tongue; and how true a Judge he was, both in Wit, and in the Knowledge of Human Affairs, (if Passion had not corrupted him towards the end of his History) that he is justly to be reckoned

the

the greateſt and beſt of the Modern Writers. So much of the Affairs of *Scotland*, the Author's Native Country. Book I. 1541.

King *Henry* ſtayed not long at *York*, ſince his Nephew came not to him. He ſet out a Proclamation there, inviting all that had been of late oppreſſed, to come in and make their Complaints, and he promiſed to repair them. This was done to caſt the Load of all paſt Errours upon *Cromwel*. The King was mightily wrought on by the Charms of his Wife; ſo that on the Firſt of *November*, he gave publick thanks to God for the happy Choice he had made: But this did not laſt long; for the next day *Cranmer* came, and gave him an account of the Queen's ill Life, which one *Laſſells* had revealed to him, as having learnt it from his Siſter. She had been very lewd before her Marriage, both with one *Deirham*, and one *Mannock*. *Cranmer*, by the Advice of the other Privy Counſellors, put this in Writing, and delivered it to the King, not knowing how to open it in Diſcourſe. The King was ſtruck with it, and at firſt inclined to believe it was a Forgery; yet he ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made into it, but he quickly found Proof enough; for the Queen had ſo far caſt off both Modeſty, and the Fear of a Diſcovery, that ſeveral Women had been Witneſſes to her Lewdneſs. It alſo appeared, that ſhe had intended to continue in that ill Courſe, for ſhe had brought *Deirham* into her Service; and

The Queen's ill Life is diſcovered.

at

Book I. at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochford*'s means, one *Culpeper* was brought to her in the 1541. Night, and ſtayed many Hours with her in a *Cellar*, and at his going away, ſhe gave him a Gold Chain. The Queen, after a ſlight denial which ſhe made at firſt, did at laſt confeſs all. *Deirham*, and *Culpeper*, were executed, and a Parliament was called upon it. When it met, a Committee was ſent to examine the Queen: Their Report is recorded only in General, That ſhe confeſſed, but no Particulars are mentioned. Upon that they paſs'd an Act, in the Form of a Petition. 'In it they 'prayed the King, that the Queen and 'her Complices, with her Bawd the Lady '*Rochford*, might be attainted of Treaſon: 'And that all thoſe who knew of the 'Queen's Vicious Courſe before her Mar-'riage, might be attainted of Miſpriſion 'of Treaſon, for not revealing it to the 'King, before he married her. Among 'thoſe were, her Father, and Mother, 'and her Grand-Mother, the Dutcheſs of '*Norfolk*. It was alſo declared Treaſon, 'to know any thing of the Incontinence 'of any Queen for the future, and not to 'reveal it. And it was made Treaſon, 'in any whom the King intended to marry, 'judging they were Maids, not to reveal 'it, if they were not ſuch. The Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on the 14*th* of *February*. She confeſſed her Incontinence before her Marriage, but denied to the laſt that ſhe had broken her Wed-

Wed-lock, tho the Lasciviousness of her former Life, made the World easy to believe the worst things of her. All observed the Judgments of God on the Lady *Rochford*, who had been so instrumental in the Ruine of *Ann Bolleyn*, and of her Husband: And when she, to whose Artifices their Fall was in a great Measure ascribed, was found to be so vile a Woman, it tended much to raise their Reputation again. The attainting her Kindred and Parents, for not discovering her former Lewdness, was thought extream Severity: for it had been a hard piece of Duty to the King, in them, to have discovered such a Secret: Yet tho they lay some time in Prison, the King pardoned them all afterwards, when his Rage was a little qualified. That other Proviso, obliging a young Woman to discover her own Faultiness, if the King should make Love to her, was thought a Piece of grievous Tiranny: And upon this, those that rallied that Sex, took occasion to say, that after this, none who was reputed a Maid, could be induced to marry the King: So that it was not so much choice, as necessity, that made him marry a Widow, two Years after. Some Hospitals were this Year resigned to the King; but there was good ground to question the Validity of those Deeds, because by their Statutes it was provided, that the Consent of all the Fellows, was necessary to make their Deeds good in Law. So those Sta-

Book I. 1542.

Book I. tutes were now by a ſpecial Act annulled, and this made way for the Diſſolution of many Hoſpitals.

1542.

A Deſign to ſuppreſs the Bible.

The Biſhops ſitting in Convocation, took great pains to ſuppreſs the Engliſh Bible; but the King could not be prevailed on directly to call it in. So they complained much of the Tranſlation then ſet out; and intended to procure a Condemnation of that, and then to ſet about a new one, in which it would be eaſy to put ſuch Delayes, that it ſhould not be finiſhed in many Years. *Gardiner* did alſo propoſe a ſingular Conceit, that many of the Latin Words ſhould be ſtill retained in the Engliſh; for he thought they had either ſuch a Majeſty, or ſo peculiar a Signification, that they could not be fitly rendered. He propoſed an hundred of thoſe, and it ſeems hoped, that if this could be carried, the Tranſlation would be ſo full of Latine Words, that the People ſhould not underſtand it for all its being in Engliſh. *Cranmer*, perceiving that the Bible was the great Eye-ſore of that Party; and that they were reſolved to ſuppreſs it by all the means they could think of, procured an Order from the King, referring the Correction of the Tranſlation to the two Univerſities. The Biſhops took this very ill; and all of them, except the Biſhops of *Ely*, and St. *Davids*, proteſted againſt it.

Bonner's *Injunctions.*

At this time *Bonner*, gave ſome Injunctions to his Clergy, which had a ſtrain in

in them, so far different from the other parts of his Life, that it is probable, he drew them not himself. 'He required 'his Clergy to read every day a Chapter 'in the Bible, with some Glosses upon it; 'and to study the Book set out by the Bi- 'shops: That they should imploy no Cu- 'rats, but such as he approved of: 'That they should take care to instruct 'young Children well, in the Principles 'of the Christian Religion: That they 'should not go to Taverns; nor use unlawful 'Games, chiefly on Sundays or Holy-days: 'That they should perform all the Duties 'of their Function, decently, and seri- 'ously: That they should suffer no Plays, 'nor Enterludes in Churches: And that 'in their Sermons, they should explain the 'Gospel and Epistle for the Day; and 'study to stir up the People to Good 'Works, and to Prayer; and should ex- 'plain all the Ceremonies of the Church, 'but should forbear all railing or the reci- 'ting of fabulous Stories, and should chiefly 'set forth the Excellencies of Vertue, and 'the Vileness of Sin: and that none under 'the degree of a Bishop should preach with- 'out a License. Book I. 1542.

The way of preaching in that time.

In the former times there had been few or no Sermons, except in Lent; for on Holy Days the Sermons were Panegyricks on the Saints, and on the virtue of their Relicks. But in Lent there was a more solemn way of preaching; and the Friars maintained their Credit much by the pathetick

Book I. thetick Sermons they preached in that time, by which they wrought much on the 1542. Affections of the People; yet these for the most part tended most to extol some of the Laws of the Church, as Fasting, Confession, and other Austerities, with the making Pilgrimages; but they were careful to acquaint the People as little as was possible, with the true Simplicity of Christianity, or the Scriptures; and they seemed to design rather to raise a sudden Heat, than to work a real Change in their Auditors. They had also mixt so much out of Legends with their Sermons, that the People came to disbelieve all that they said for the sake of those Fabulous things, with which their Sermons were embased. The Reformers took great care to instruct their Hearers in the Fundamentals of Religion, of which they had known little formerly: This made the Nation run after these Teachers with a wonderful Zeal; but they mixed too much Sharpness against the Friars in their Sermons, which was judged indecent in them to do; tho their Hypocrisy and Cheats did in a great measure excuse those Heats: and it was observed that our Saviour had exposed the *Pharisees* in so plain a manner, that it did very much justify the treating them with some Roughness; yet it is not to be denied but Resentments for the Cruelties they or their Friends had suffered by their means, might have too much Influence on them. This made it seem necessary to suffer none to preach, at least out of their own Parishes,

* without

without Licence, and many were licenſed to preach as Itinerants. There was alſo a Book of Homilies on all the Epiſtles and Goſpels in the Year, put out, which contained a plain Paraphraſe of thoſe Parcels of Scripture; together with ſome practical Exhortations founded on them. Many Complaints were made of thoſe that were licenſed to preach, and that they might be able to juſtify themſelves, they began generally to write and read their Sermons: and thus did this Cuſtom begin, in which, what is wanting in the heat and force of Delivery, is much made up by the ſtrength and ſolidity of the Matter; and has produced many Volumes of as excellent Sermons, as have been preached in any Age. Plays and Enterludes were a great Abuſe in that time; in them Mock-Repreſentations were made both of the Clergy and of the Pageantry of their Worſhip. The Clergy complained much of theſe as an Introduction to Atheiſm, when things Sacred were thus laught at; and ſaid, They that begun to laugh at Abuſes, would not ceaſe till they had repreſented all the Myſteries of Religion as ridiculous: The graver ſort of Reformers did not approve of it, but political Men encouraged it; and thought nothing would more effectually pull down the Abuſes, that yet remained, than the expoſing them to the ſcorn of the Nation. Book I. 1542.

A War did now break out between *England* and *Scotland* at the Inſtigation of the King of *France*. King *Henry* ſet out a *A War with Scotland.*

Book I. Declaration, pretending that the Crown of *Scotland* owed Homage to him: and cited
1542. many Precedents to shew that Homage was done not only by their Kings, but by consent of the States; for which Original Records were appealed to. The *Scots* on the other hand, asserted that they were a free and independent Kingdom; that the Homages antiently made by their Kings, were only for Lands which they had in *England*; and that those more lately made, were either offered by Pretenders in the case of a doubtful Title, or were extorted by Force: And they said, their Kings could not give up the Rights of a free Crown and People. The Duke of *Norfolk* made an In-road into *Scotland*, with 20000 Men in *October*: but after he had burnt some small Towns, and wasted *Teviotdale*, he returned back to *England*. In the end of *November* an Army of 15000 *Scots* with a good Train of Artillery, was brought together: They intended to march into *England* by the *Western* Road. The King went to it in Person; but he was at this time, much disturbed in his Fancy, and thought the Ghost of one whom he had unjustly put to death, followed him continually; he not only left the Army, but sent a Commission to *Oliver Sinclare*, then called his *Minion*, to command in chief. This disgusted the Nobility very much, who were become weary of the Insolence of that Favourite: so they refused to march, and were beginning to separate. While they were in this Disorder,

Diſorder, 500 *Engliſh* appeared, and they apprehending it was a fore Party of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Army, refuſed to fight; ſo the *Engliſh* fell upon them and diſperſed them: they took all their Ordinance and Baggage, and 1000 Priſoners, of whom 200 were Gentlemen. The chief of theſe were the Earls of *Glencarn* and *Caſſilis*: The News of this ſo over-charged the Melancholy King, that he died ſoon after, leaving only an Infant Daughter newly born to ſucceed him. The Lords that were taken, were brought up to *London*, and lodged in the Houſes of the *Engliſh* Nobility: *Caſſilis* was ſent to *Lambeth*, where he received thoſe Seeds of Knowledg, which produced afterwards a great Harveſt in *Scotland*. The other Priſoners were alſo inſtructed to ſuch a degree, that they came to have very different Thoughts of the Changes that had been made in *England*, from what the *Scotiſh* Clergy had poſſeſſed them with; who had encouraged their King to engage in the War, both by the aſſurance of Victory, ſince he fought againſt an Heretical Prince, and the Contribution of 50000 Crowns a Year. The King's Death, and the Crowns falling to his Daughter, made the *Engliſh* Council lay hold on this as a proper Conjuncture for uniting the whole Iſland in one: therefore they ſent for the *Scotiſh* Lords, and propoſed to them, the marrying the Prince of *Wales* to their young Queen; this the *Scots* liked very well, and promiſed to pro-

Book I. 1542.

Book I. 1543. mote it all they could: And so upon their giving Hostages for the performing their Promises faithfully, they were sent home, and went away much pleased both with the Splendor of the King's Court, and with the way of Religion which they had seen in *England*.

A Parliament called. A Parliament was called, in which the King had great Subsidies given him, of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years. A Bill was proposed for the advancement of true Religion, by *Cranmer*, and some other Bishops; for the Spirits of the Popish Party were much fallen ever since the last Queen's Death; yet at this time a Treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperour, which raised them a little: for since the King was like to engage in a War with *France*, it was necessary for him to make the Emperour his Friend. *Cranmer*'s Motion was much opposed, and the timorous Bishops forsook him; yet he put it as far as it would go, tho in most Points things went against him; *An Act about Religion.* 'By it *Tindall*'s Translation of the 'Bible was condemned as crafty and false, 'and also all other Books contrary to the 'Doctrine set forth by the Bishops. But 'Bibles of another Translation, were still 'allowed to be kept, only all Prefaces or 'Annotations that might be in them, were 'to be dashed or cut out: All the King's 'Injunctions were confirmed: No Books 'of Religion might be printed without 'Licence; there was to be no Exposition 'of

of Scripture in Plays or Enterludes; none Book I.
of the Laity might read the Scripture, or
explain it in any publick Aſſembly: But 1543.
a Proviſo was made for publick Speeches,
which then began generally with a Text
of Scripture, and were like Sermons.
Noblemen, Gentlemen and their Wives,
or Merchants might have Bibles, but no or-
dinary Woman, Tradeſman, Apprentice,
or Husbandman, might have any. Every
Perſon might have the Book ſet out by the
Biſhops, and the Pſalter, and other Rudi-
ments of Religion in Engliſh. All Church-
men that preached contrary to that Book,
for the firſt Offence, were only required
to recant; for the ſecond, to abjure and
carry a Faggot; but were to be burnt
for the third: the Laity for the third
Offence were only to forfeit their Goods
and Chattels, and to be liable to perpetu-
al Impriſonment; but they were to be
proceeded againſt within a Year: The
Parties accuſed, were not allowed Wit-
neſſes for their Purgation. The Act of
the ſix Articles was confirmed, and it was
left free to the King, to change this Act,
or any Proviſo in it. There was alſo a
new Act paſt, giving Authority to the
King's Proclamations, and any nine Privy
Counſellours were empowered to proceed a-
gainſt Offenders: To this the Lord *Mountjoy*
diſſented, and it is the only Inſtance of any
Proteſtation againſt any of the publick Acts
that paſt in this whole Reign. By the Act
about Religion, as the Laity were delivered
from

Book I. from the fear of Burning; so the Clergy might not be burnt but upon the third Conviction. The Act being also put entirely in the King's Power, he had now the Reformers all at mercy; for he could bind up the Act, or execute it as he pleased: and he affected this much to have his People depend entirely upon him. The League offensive and defensive for *England* and *Calais*, and for the *Netherlands*, was sworn by the King and the Emperour: and Assurances were given, that tho the King would not declare Lady *Mary* legitimate, upon which the Emperour insisted much, yet she should be put in the Succession to the Crown next Prince *Edward*. The Emperour was glad thus to engage the Kings of *England* and *France* in a War, by which the *Germans* were left without Support, and so he resolved to carry on his great design of making himself Master of *Germany*.

1543.

Affairs in Scotland. In *Scotland* the Earl of *Arran*, *Hamilton*, next in Blood to the young Queen, was established in the Government during the Queen's Minority: he was a Man of great Vertue, and much inclined to the Reformation; but was soft and easie to be wrought on. King *Henry* sent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him, to induce him to set forward the Match; and to offer him Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son. It was agreed and confirmed in Parliament, that the Young Queen should be bred in *Scotland* till she was ten Years old; the King of *England* sending a Nobleman and his Lady with others not exceed-

exceeding twenty, to wait on her: and after that Age, ſhe was to be ſent to *England*; and in the mean while ſix Hoſtages were to be given: but all the Clergy headed by Cardinal *Beaton*, ſet themſelves much againſt this. The Queen-Mother oppoſed it much, and it was alſo ſaid, a Match with the *French*, would be more for the Intereſt of the Nation, who being at ſo great a diſtance, could not oppreſs them ſo eaſily as the *Engliſh* might: for if the *French* oppreſt them, the *Engliſh* would be ready to protect them, but if they came under the Yoke of *England*, they could expect no Protection from any other Prince. This meeting with that Antipathy that was then formed between the two Nations, and being inflamed by the Clergy, turned the People generally to prefer a Match with *France*, to that which was propoſed for the Prince of *Wales*. The *French* ſent over the Earl of *Lennox* to make a Party againſt the Governour; they ſent alſo over the Governour's Baſe-Brother, afterwards made Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews*, to take him out of the hands of the *Engliſh*: and he made him apprehend great danger if he went on in his Oppoſition to the Intereſts of *Rome*, that he would be declared illegitimate, as being begotten in a ſecond Marriage, while the firſt that was annulled becauſe of a Precontract, did ſubſiſt; for if the annulling the firſt ſhould be reverſed, then the ſecond could be of no force; and if that were once done, the Earl of *Lennox*, who was next to

Book I. 1543.

Book I. to him in blood, would be preferred to him: These threatnings joyned with his
1543. Brother's Artifices, had their full Effect on him: for he turned off wholly from the Interests of *England*, and gave himself up to the *French* Councils. When it was thus resolved to break the Match with *England*; the Lords that had left Hostages for their faithful performing the Promises they made to King *Henry*, were little concerned either in their own Honour, or in the safety of their Hostages: only the Earl of *Cassilis*, thought it was unworthy of him, to break his Faith in such a manner; so he came into *England*, and put himself in King *Henry*'s Hands, who upon that called him another *Regulus*, but used him better; for he gave him his Liberty and a Noble Present, and sent him back with his Hostages, but resolved to take a severe Reparation of those who had failed him in that Kingdom. At the same time he began the War with *France*; one of the Reasons he gave for it was, that *Francis* had failed in the matter of shaking off the Pope's Authority, and advancing a Reformation, in which he had promised to second him.

Some burnt at Windsor.

The King married *Katherine Parre*, Widow to *Nevill*, Lord *Latimer*: She secretly favoured the Reformation, but could not divert a Storm which fell then on a Society at *Windsor*. *Person* a Priest, *Testwood* and *Marbeck*, two Singing-men, and *Filmer*, one of the Town, were informed against by Dr. *London*, who had insinuated himself

himſelf much into *Cromwel*'s Favour, and was eminently zealous in the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries: But now he made his Court no leſs dextrouſly to the Popiſh Party. *Gardiner* moved in Council, That a Commiſſion might be granted for ſearching all ſuſpected Houſes, for Books written againſt the ſix Articles: So the four before mentioned, were found to have ſome of them; and upon that account were ſeized on. Sir *Philip Hobbey*, and Dr. *Hains*, Dean of *Exeter*, were alſo put in Priſon. There was a Concordance of the Bible, and ſome Notes upon it, in Engliſh, found written by *Marbeck*, which was look'd on as the Work of ſome learned Man, for it was known that he was illiterate. *Marbeck* ſaid, the Notes were his own, gathered by him, out of ſuch Books as he fell on. And for the Concordance, he ſaid, he compiled it by the help of a Latin Concordance, and an Engliſh Bible, tho he underſtood little Latin. He had brought it to the Letter L. This ſeemed ſo incredible, that it was look'd on only as a Pretence to conceal the true Author; ſo to try him, they gave him ſome Words of the Letter M, and ſhut him up, with a Latin Concordance, and an Engliſh Bible; and by his Performance in that, they clearly ſaw, that the whole Work was his own, and were not a little aſtoniſhed at the Ingeniouſneſs and Diligence of ſo poor a Man. When the King heard of it, he ſaid, *Marbeck* was better imployed than they

Book I. 1543.

Book I. they were that examined him: So he was preſerved, tho the other three were condemned, for ſome Words which they had ſpoken againſt the Maſs, and upon that were burnt. Dr. *London*, and *Simonds* an Attorney, had taken ſome Informations againſt ſeveral Perſons of Quality at Court, and intended to have carried the Deſign very high. But a great Pacquet, in which all their Project was diſcloſed by them, being intercepted, they were ſent for, and examined about it; but they denied it upon Oath, not knowing that their Letters were taken; and were not a little confounded when their own Hand-writing was ſhewed them. So they were convicted of Perjury, and were ſet on a Pillory, and made ride about with their Faces to the Horſes Tails, and Papers on their Breaſts, in three ſeveral Places, which did ſo affect Dr. *London*, that he died ſoon after.

1543.

Cranmer's Ruine is deſigned.

The chief thing aimed at by the whole Popiſh Party was *Cranmer*'s Ruine; *Gardiner* imploied many to infuſe it into the King, that he gave the chief Encouragement to *Hereſy* of any in *England*, and that it was in vain to lop off the Branches, and leave the Root ſtill growing. The King till then would never hear the Complaints that were made of him: But now to penetrate into the depth of this Deſign, he was willing to draw out all that was to be ſaid againſt him. *Gardiner* reckoned, that this Point being gained, all the reſt would follow;

follow: And judged, that the King was now alienated from him; and so more Instruments and Artifices than ever were now made use of. A long Paper, of many Particulars, both against *Cranmer*, and his Chaplains, was put in the King's hands. So upon this the King sent for him; and after he had complained much of the Heresy in *England*, he said, He resolved to find out the chief Promoter of it, and to make him an Example. *Cranmer* wished him first to consider well what Heresy was, that so he might not condemn those as Hereticks, who stood for the Word of God against Humane Inventions. Then the King told him franckly, That he was the Man complained of, as most guilty; and shewed him all the Informations that he had received against him. *Cranmer* confessed, he was still of the same mind that he was of when he opposed the six Articles, and submitted himself to a Trial: He confessed many things to the King; in particular, that he had a Wife, but he said he had sent her out of *England*, when the Act of the six Articles past; and expressed so great a Sincerity, and put so entire a Confidence in the King, that instead of being ruined, he was now better established with him than formerly. The King commanded him to appoint some to examine the Contrivance that was laid to destroy him. He answered, That it was not decent for him to nominate any to judge in a Cause, in which himself was concerned: Yet the King was positive; so he

Book I. 1543.

Book I. so he named some to go about it, and the whole secret was found out. It appeared, that *Gardiner*, and Dr. *London*, had been the chief Sticklers, and had encouraged Informers to appear against him. *Cranmer* did not press the King to give him any Reparation; for he was so noted for his readiness to forgive Injuries, and to do Good for Evil, that it was commonly said, that the best way to obtain his Favour, was to do him an Injury; of this he gave signal Instances at this time, both in Relation to some of the Clergy and Laity; by which it appeared that he was acted by that meek and lowly Spirit, that became all the Followers of Christ; but more particularly one, that was so great an Instrument in reforming the Christian Religion; and did in such eminent Acts of Charity, shew that he himself practised that, which he taught others to do.

1543.

1544. *The Act of the Succession.* A Parliament was now called, in which the great Act of Succession to the Crown past: 'By it the Crown was first provided 'to Prince *Edward* and his Heirs, or the 'Heirs by the King's present Marriage; 'after them to Lady *Mary* and Lady *Eli-* 'zabeth, and in case they had no Issue, or 'did not observe such Limitations or Con- 'ditions as the King should appoint, then it 'was to fall to any other whom the King 'should name, either by his Letters Patents, 'or by his last Will signed with his Hand. 'An Oath was appointed both against the 'Pope's Supremacy, and for the maintaining 'the

'Succeſſion according to this Act, which 'all were required to take, under the pains 'of Treaſon: It was made Treaſon to ſay 'or write any thing contrary to this Act, 'or to the Slander of any of the King's Heirs named in it. By this, tho the King did not Legitimate his Daughters, yet it was made Criminal for any to object Baſtardy to them. Another Act paſt, qualifying the Severity of the Act of the ſix Articles; none were to be impriſoned but upon a Legal Preſentment, except upon the King's Warrant. None was to be challenged for Words, but within a Year; nor for a Sermon, but within 40 Days. This was made to prevent ſuch Conſpiracies as had been diſcovered the former Year. Another Act paſt, renewng the Authority given to 32 to reform the Eccleſiaſtical Law, which *Cranmer* promoted much; and to ſet it forward, he drew out of the Canon Law, a Collection of many things againſt the Regal, and for the Papal Authority, with ſeveral other very Extravagant Propoſitions, to ſhew how Indecent a thing it was, to let a Book, in which ſuch things were, continue ſtill in any credit in *England*: But he could not bring this to any good Iſſue, during this Reign. Another Act paſt, diſcharging all the King's Debts; and they alſo required ſuch as had received payment to bring back the Money into the Exchequer. This was taxed as a piece of groſs Injuſtice; and it was thought ſtrange, that ſince the King had

Book I. 1544.

Book I done this once before, he could have the credit to raise more Mony, and be tempted to do it a second time. A General Pardon was granted, out of which, *Heresy* was excepted.

1544.

The King makes War on France and Scotland.

The King was now engaged in a War, both with *France* and *Scotland*; and to make his Treasure hold out the longer, he embased the Coin in a very Extraordinary manner. The Earl of *Hartford* was sent with an Army by Sea to *Scotland*; he landed at *Grantham*, a little above *Leith*. He burnt both *Leith* and *Edinburgh*; but he neither laied to take the Castle of *Edinburgh*, nor did he Fortify *Leith*, but only waited the Country, all the Way from that to *Berwick*. He did too much if it was intended to gain the Hearts of that Nation; and too little if it was intended to subdue them; for this did only inflame their Spirits more, by which, they were so united in their Aversion to *England*, that the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been cast off by *France*, and was gone over to the English Interest, could make no Party in the West, but was forced for his own Preservation to fly into *England*. *Audley* the Chancellour, dying at this time, *Wriothesly*, that was of the Popish Party, was put in his place: And Dr. *Petre*, that was hitherto *Cranmer*'s Friend, was made Secretary of State: So equally did the King keep the Ballance between both Parties, and being to cross the Seas, he left a Commission for the Administration of Affairs,

during his Abſence, to the Queen, the Archbiſhop, the Chancellour, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*: And if they ſhould have any occaſion to raiſe any Force, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford*, his Lieutenant. He gave order alſo to Tranſlate the Prayers, and Proceſſions, and Litanies, into the Engliſh Tongue, which gave the Reformers ſome hopes again, that he had not quite caſt off his Deſignes of ~~corrupting~~ * reforming ſuch Abuſes, as had crept into the Worſhip of God. And they hoped, That the Reaſons which prevailed with the King for this, would alſo induce him to order a Tranſlation, of all the other Offices into the Engliſh Tongue. Book I. 1544.

The King croſſed the Sea with great Pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He ſat down before *Bulloign*, and took it after a Siege of two Months. It was ſoon after very near being retaken by a Surpriſe, but the Gariſon being quickly put in order, beat out the French. Thus the King returned Victorious; and was as much flattered for taking this ſingle Town, as if he had conquered a Kingdom. The Inroads that were made into *Scotland* this Winter, were Inſucceſsful. *The King takes Bulloign.*

The King of *France* ſet out a Fleet of above 300 Ships; and the King ſet out a hundred Sail: On both ſides they were only Merchant-men hired upon this Occaſion. The French made two Deſcents upon *England*, but was beat back with 1545.

Book I. loſs. The Engliſh made a Deſcent in *Normandy*, and burnt ſome Towns. The
1545. Princes of *Germany* ſaw their Danger, if this War went on; for the Pope and Emperour had made a League for procuring Obedience to the Council, that was now opened at *Trent*. The Emperour was raiſing an Army, tho he had made Peace both with the King of *France*, and the Turk; and was reſolved to make good uſe of this Opportunity, the two Crowns being now in War. So the Germans ſent to mediate a Peace between them: but it ſtuck long at the buſineſs of *Bulloign*.

Lee, Archbiſhop of *York*, died this Year. *Holgate* was removed from *Landaffe* thither, who in his Heart favoured the Reformation. *Kitchin* was put in *Landaffe*, who turned with every Change that was made. *Heath* was removed from *Rocheſter* to *Worceſter*; and *Holbeach* was put in *Rocheſter*. *Day* was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. All thoſe were moderate Men, and well diſpoſed to a Reformation, at leaſt to comply with it.

Wiſhart *burnt in* Scotland. This Year *Wiſhart* was burnt in *Scotland*: He was Educated at *Cambridge*, and went home the former Year. In many places he preached againſt Idolatry, and the other Abuſes in Religion. He ſtayed long at *Dundee*; but by the means that Cardinal *Beaton* uſed, he was driven out of that Town; and at his Departure, he denounced heavy Judgments on them, for rejecting the Goſpel. He went and preach-

ed in many other places, and Enterance to the Churchs being denied him, he preached in the Fields. He would not suffer the People to open the Church Doors by Violence, for that, he said, became not the Gospel of Peace which he preached to them. He heard the Plague had broke out in *Dundee*, within four Days after he was banished; so he returned thither, and took care of the Sick, and did all the Offices of a faithful Pastor among them. He shewed his Gentleness towards his Enemies, by rescuing a Priest that was coming to kill him, but was discovered, and was like to have been torn in pieces by the People. He foretold several extraordinary things; particularly his own Sufferings, and the spreading the Reformation over the Land. He preached last in *Lothian*, and there the Earl of *Bothwel* took him, but promised upon his Honour, that no harm should be done him; yet he delivered him to the Cardinal, who brought him to St. *Andrews*, and called a Meeting of Bishops thither, to destroy him with the more Solemnity. The Governour being much prest to it, by a Worthy Gentleman of his Name, *Hamilton* of *Preston*, sent the Cardinal word not to proceed against him, till he should come and hear the Matter examined himself. But the Cardinal went on, and in a publick Court condemned him as an Heretick, upon several Articles that were objected to him, which he confessed, and offered to justify.

Book I. 1545.

Book I. 1545. The Night after that he ſpent in Prayer; next Morning he deſired he might have the Sacrament according to Chriſt's Inſtitution in both kinds; but that being denied him, he conſecrated the Elements himſelf, and ſome about him were willing to communicate with him. He was carried out to the Stake near the Cardinal's Palace; who was ſet in State in a great Window, and looked on this ſad Spectacle. *Wiſhart* declared that he felt much Joy within himſelf, in offering up his Life for the Name of Chriſt, and exhorted the People not to be offended at the Word of God, for the ſake of the Croſs. After the Fire was ſet to and was burning him, he ſaid, 'This 'Flame hath ſcorched my Body, but hath 'not daunted my Spirits; and he foretold 'that the Cardinal ſhould in a few days be 'ignominiouſly laid out in that very place where he now ſate in ſo much State; but as he ſpeak that, the Executioner drew the Cord that was about his Neck ſo ſtrait, that theſe were the laſt Words.

Cardinal Beaton is murdered. The Clergy rejoyced much at his Death, and extolled the Cardinal's Courage, for proceeding in it againſt the Governours Orders. But the People look'd on him as both a Prophet and a Martyr. It was alſo ſaid that his Death was no leſs than Murder, ſince no Writ was obtained for it; and the Clergy could burn none without a Warrant from the Secular Power: ſo it was inferred that the Cardinal deſerved to dy for it; and if his Greatneſs ſet him

above

above the Law, then Private Persons might execute that which the Governour could not do: Such Practices had been formerly too common in that Kingdom; and now upon this occasion some Gentlemen of Quality came to think it would be an Heroical Action to conspire his Death. His Insolence had rendred him generally very hateful: so private and publick Resentments concurring, twelve Persons entred into a fatal Engagement of killing him privately in his House. On the 30th of *May*, they first surprized the Gate early in the Morning, and tho there were an hundred lodged in the Castle, yet they being asleep, they came to them apart, and either turned them out, or shut them up in their Chambers: Having made all sure, they came to the Cardinal's Chamber-door; he was fast asleep, but by their Rudeness, he was both awakened, and perceived they had a design on his Life: upon the assurance of Life, he opened his Door, but they did cruelly and treacherously murder him, and laid out his Body in the same Window, from which he had looked on *Wisharts* Execution. Some few justified this Fact, as the killing of a Robber and Murderer; but it was more generally condemned by all sorts of People, even by those who hated him most; yet the Accomplishment of *Wishart*'s Prediction made great Impressions on many. On the other hand, it was afterwards observed that scarce any of the Conspirators died an ordinary Death. They kept out

Book I. 1545.

Book I. the Castle, and about 140 came in to them, and they held it near two Years, being 1545. assisted both by Mony and Provisions that were sent from *England*. They had also the Govenour at their Mercy, for they kept his eldest Son, whom the Cardinal had taken into his Care for his Education. An Absolution was brought from *Rome*, and a Pardon was offered them; and at last, being straitned both at Sea and Land, they rendred the Place upon Assurance of Life. This Infamous Action was a great Blemish upon the Reformers, who, tho they did not directly justify it, yet extenuated it, and gave it some Countenance; for two of them went in and preached to the Garrison in the Castle.

Chantries given to the King.

In *England* a Parliament met, in which as the Spiritualty gave a Subsidy of six Shillings in the Pound, payable in two Years; so the Temporalty not only gave a Subsidy for the War, but confirmed all the Surrenders that had been made of Chantries, Chappels, Colledges, Hospitals, and other Foundations, for saying Masses for departed Souls: and they empowered the King during his Life to grant Commissions for seizing on the rest of them. Yet the King found this was like to give new Discontent to the Gentry, to whom these belonged, so he made but a small Progress in it, and many were reserved to his Sons Courtiers to feed on. The King dismissed the Parliament with a long Speech, 'In 'which after he had thanked them for their

'Bills

'Bills, he exhorted them to Charity and 'Concord in matters of Religion; and to 'forbear all Terms of Reproach, such as 'Papist and Heretick: he complained much 'of the Stifness of some Church-men, and 'of the Indiscretion of others, who both 'gave ill Example, and sowed the Seeds of 'Discord among the Laity. He, as God's 'Vicar, thought himself bound to see these 'things corrected: he reproved the Tem-'poralty for the ill use they made of the 'Scripture; for instead of being taught 'out of it to live better, and to be more 'charitable to one another, they only railed 'at one another, and made Songs out of 'it, to disgrace those that differed from 'them; so he exhorted them to serve 'God, and love one another, which he 'would esteem the best Expression of their 'Duty and Obedience to him. The King had appointed a Distribution of 550 *l.* a year in several Cathedrals, for the Poor, and about 400 *l.* for High-ways; so this Year some Bishops were appointed to see whether those Payments were made as he had ordered or not. The Universities were now in danger of having their Colledges suppress, but upon their Applications to the King, they were delivered from their Fears. Book I. 1546.

Now came on the last Year of this Reign, the War with *France* was this Year unsuccesful, but upon the Earl of *Surrey*'s being recalled, and the Earl of *Hartford*'s being sent in his room, things turned a little. *A Peace with France.*

'This

Book I. This raised such Animosity between those two Lords, that they became fatal to the former. The two Kings were at last brought to consent to a Peace; the main Article of it was, that within eight Years *Bulloigne* should be delivered up, the taking and keeping of which, cost *England* 1300000 *l.* Upon this Peace *Annebault* the *French* Admiral, was sent over Ambassadour. The Council of *Trent* was now sitting, *Pool* was made a Legate to do the King the more Spite: the Emperour and the Pope governed it as they pleased: so the two Crowns resolved to unite more firmly; particularly it was proposed, that the Mass should be turned to a Communion; and *Cranmer* was ordered to prepare the Office for it. But this was too great a Design for two old Kings to accomplish.

1546.

Anne Aiscough and others burnt.

There was at this time a new Prosecution of those that denied the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, *Shaxton* was accused of some Words about it, but he abjured, and complied so entirely, that soon after he preached the Sermon at the burning of *Anne Aiscough*; he made no noise all King *Edward*'s time, yet in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, he was a Persecutor of Protestants, but was so little esteemed, that tho he had been Bishop of *Salisbury*, he was raised no higher than to be Bishop Suffragan of *Ely*. Several other Persons were at this time endicted upon the same Statute, but most of them recanted; *Anne Aiscough* stood

ſtood firm, ſhe was deſcended from a good Family, and had been well educated, but was unhappily married; for her Husband being a violent Papiſt, drove her out of his Houſe, when he diſcovered her Inclinations to the Reformation; ſhe was put in Priſon on the account of the Sacrament, but ſigned a Recantation, and ſo was ſet at Liberty; yet not long after ſhe was committed again upon a new Complaint, and was examined before the Privy Council, but anſwered with extraordinary Reſolution; yet it was thought by ſome that ſhe was too forward in her manner of ſpeaking: ſhe had been much at Court, and it was believed ſhe was ſupported by ſome Ladies there: ſo in order to the Diſcovery of this, ſhe was carried to the *Tower* and rack'd; yet ſhe confeſs'd nothing. *Wriotheſly* was preſent, and commanded the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to draw the Rack a little more, but he refuſed to do it; upon which the Chancellour laid aſide his Gown and drew it himſelf with ſo much Force, as if he had intended to rend her Body aſunder; and the Effects of this were ſo violent, that ſhe was not able to go to *Smithfield*, but was carried thither in a Chair when ſhe was burnt: Two others were alſo condemned on the ſame account, and *Shaxton* to compleat his Apoſtacy, after he had in vain endeavoured to perſwade them to abjure, preached the Sermon at their Burning, in which he inveighed ſeverely againſt their Errors. The Lord Chancellour came

Book I. 1546.

to

Book I. to *Smithfield*, and offered them their Par-
1546. dons if they would recant, but they chose rather to glorify God by their Deaths, than to dishonour him by so foul an Apostacy. There were two burnt in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, on the same account, this Year.

But the Popish Party hoped to have greater Sacrifices offered up to their Revenge: They had laid a Train last Year for *Cranmer*, and they had laid one now for the Queen. They perswaded the King, that *Cranmer* was the Source of all the Heresy that was in *England*; but the King's Partiality to him was such, that none would come in against him: So they desired, that he might be once put in the Tower, and then it would appear how many would inform against him. The King seemed to consent to this; and they resolved to execute it the next day: but in the Night the King sent for *Cranmer*, and told him, what was resolved concerning him. *Cranmer* thanked the King for giving him notice of it, and not leaving him to be surprised. He submitted to it, only he desired he might be heard answer for himself; and that he might have indifferent Judges who understood those matters. The King wondered to see him so little concerned in his own Preservation; but told him, he must take care of him, since he took so little care of himself. The King therefore gave him Instructions to appear before the Council, and to desire to see his Accusers before he

Designs against Cranmer

he ſhould be ſent to the Tower; and that he might be uſed by them, as they would deſire to be uſed in the like Caſe: And if he could not prevail by the force of Reaſon, then he was to appeal to the King in Perſon, and was to ſhew the King's Seal-Ring, which he took from his Finger and gave him; and they knew it all ſo well, that they would do nothing after they once ſaw that; ſo he being ſummoned next Morning, came over to *White-Hall*: He was kept long in the Lobbey before he was called in: But when that was done, and he had obſerved the Method the King had ordered him to uſe, and had at laſt ſhewed the Ring, they roſe all in great Confuſion, and went to the King. He chid them ſeverely for what they had done, and expreſſed his Eſteem and Kindneſs to *Cranmer*, in ſuch Terms, that his Enemies were glad to get off, by pretending, that they had no other Deſign, but to have his Innocence declared in a publick Trial; and were now ſo convinced of the King's unalterable Favour to him, that they never made any more Attempts upon him. Book I. 1546.

And againſt the Queen.

But what they durſt not do in Relation to *Cranmer*, they thought might be more ſafely tried againſt the Queen, who was known to love the *New Learning*, which was the common Phraſe for the Reformation. She uſed to have Sermons in her Privy Chamber, which could not be ſo ſecretly carried, but that it came to the King's Knowledge. Yet her Conduct in all other things

Book I. things was ſo exact, and ſhe expreſſed ſuch a tender care of the King's Perſon, that 1546. it was obſerved, ſhe had gained much upon him; but his Peeviſhneſs, growing with his Diſtempers, made him ſometimes uneaſy, even to her. They uſed often to talk of Matters of Religion; and ſometimes ſhe held up the Argument for the Reformers ſo ſtifly, that he was offended at it; yet as ſoon as that appeared, ſhe let it fall; but once the Debate continuing long, the King expreſſed his Diſpleaſure at it to *Gardiner*, when ſhe went away. He took hold of this Opportunity, to perſwade the King, that ſhe was a great Cheriſher of Hereticks. *Wriotheſly* joined with him in the ſame Artifice, and filled the angry King's Head with many Stories; in ſo much, that he ſigned the Articles upon which ſhe was to be Impeached. But *Wriotheſly* let that Paper fall from him careleſly, and it happened to be taken up by one of the Queen's Friends, who carried it to her: Upon which ſhe went to the King, and brought on a Diſcourſe of Religion; and after a little Oppoſition, ſhe yielded, and ſeemed convinced by the King's Reaſons, and told him, That ſhe only held up that Argument to be inſtructed by him, and ſometimes to engage him in Diſcourſe, and ſo to make him forget his pains; and this ſhe ſeconded with ſuch Flattery, that he was perfectly ſatisfied, and reconciled to her. Next day, as he was walking with her in the Garden, *Wriotheſly*

theſly came thither on deſign to have carried her to the Tower; but the King chid him ſeverely for it, and was heard to call him *Knave* and *Fool*. The good natured Queen interpoſed to mitigate his Diſpleaſure, but the King told her, She had no reaſon to be concerned for him: Thus the Deſign againſt her, vaniſhed; and *Gardiner* that had ſet it on, loſt the King's Favour entirely by it. Book I. 1546.

The Duke of Norfolk's Fall.

But now the Fall of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*, came on. The Father had been long Treaſurer, and had ſerved the King with great Fidelity and Succeſs: His Son was a Man of rare Qualities; he had a great Wit, and was more than ordinary learned. He particularly hated the Earl of *Hartford*, and ſcorned an Alliance with him, which his Father had projected. The Duke of *Norfolk* had intended to unite his Family to the *Seimours*, by marrying his Son to the Earl of *Hartford*'s Daughter; and his Daughter the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, to Sir *Thomas Seimour*: But both his Children refuſed to comply with him in it. The *Seimours* were apprehenſive of the Oppoſition they might meet with, if the King ſhould die, from the Earl of *Surry*, who was a high ſpirited Man, had a vaſt Fortune, and was the Head of the Popiſh Party. It was likewiſe ſuſpected, that he kept himſelf unmarried in hopes of marrying the Lady *Mary*. The Duke's Family was alſo fatally divided: His Dutcheſs

Book I. Dutchess had been separated from him about four Years, and now turned Informer against him. His Daughter did also hate her Brother, and was a Spy upon him. One *Holland*, a Whore of the Duke's, did also betray him, and discovered all she could; yet all amounted to no more than some Complaints of the Fathers, who thought the Services he had done the Crown were little regarded; and some Threatnings of the Sons. It was also said, that the Father gave the Coat of Arms that belonged to the Prince of *Wales*, and the Son gave *Edward* the Confessors Coat; but that was only a Pretence to make a noise among the People, and to cover the want of more important matter against them. One *Southwel* objected things of a higher Nature to the Earl of *Surry*. He denied them, and desired, that according to the Martial Law, they might have a Trial by Combate, and fight in their Shirts: But that was not granted; yet both Father and Son were put in the Tower.

1546.

1547. *The Earl of* Surry *executed.* The Earl of *Surry* was tried by a Jury of Commoners, and was found guilty of Treason, and executed on the 19*th* of *January*. He was much lamented; and the Blame of his Death being cast on the *Seimours*, raised a General *Odium* against them. The old Duke saw a Parliament called to destroy him by an Act of Attainder, for there was not matter enough to ruine him at Common Law; so to prevent that

that he made ſuch humble Submiſſion to the King, as would have mollified any that had not Bowels of Braſs. He wrote to him, 'That he had ſpent his whole Life in his 'Service, without having ſo much as a 'Thought to his Prejudice. He had obey-'ed all the King's Laws, and was reſolved 'to obey all that ever he ſhould make. He 'begged that he might be heard, with his 'Accuſers face to face. He prayed that 'the King would take all his Lands, and 'Goods, and only reſtore him to his Fa-'vour, and grant him ſuch an Allowance 'to live on, as he thought fit. He went 'further, and ſet his Hand to a Confeſſion 'of ſeveral Crimes; as 1. His revealing 'the Secrets of the King's Council. 2. His 'concealing his Son's Treaſon, in giving 'the Arms of *Edward* the Confeſſor. 3. His 'own giving the Arms of *England*, with 'the Labels of Silver which belonged only 'to the Prince, which he acknowledged 'was High Treaſon, and therefore he beg-'ged the King's Mercy. But all this had no effect on the King, tho his drawing ſo near his end, ought to have begot in him a greater regard to the ſhedding of Innocent Blood. Book I. 1547.

When the Parliament met, the King was not able to come to *Weſtminſter*, but he ſent his Pleaſure to them by a Commiſſion. He intended to have Prince *Edward* Crowned *Prince* of *Wales*; and therefore deſired they would make all poſſible haſt in the *And the Duke attainted by Act of Parliament.*

Book I. Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, that so the Places which he held by Patent, might be disposed of to others, who should assist at the Coronation; which, tho it was a very slight Excuse, for so high a piece of Injustice, yet it had that effect, that in seven Days, both Houses past the Bill. On the 27*th* of *January*, the Royal Assent was given by those Commissioned by the King; and the Execution was ordered to be next Morning. There was no special Matter in the Act, but that of the Coat of Arms, which he and his Ancestors were used to give, according to Records in the Herauld's Office; so that this was condemned by all Persons, as a most Inexcusable Act of Tyranny. But the Night after this, the King died, and it was thought contrary to the Decencies of Government, to begin a new Reign with so Unjustifiable an Act, as the beheading of the old Duke, and so he was preserved: Yet both Sides made Inferences from this Calamity that fell on him. The Papists said, It was God's just Judgment on him, for his Obsequiousness to King *Henry*. But the Protestants said, It was a just return on him, for what he had done against *Cromwel*, and many others, on the account of the six Articles. *Cranmer* would not meddle in this Matter, but that he might be out of the way, he retired to *Croydon*, whereas *Gardiner* that had been his Friend all along, continued still about the Court.

1547.

The

The King's Distemper had been growing long upon him. He was become so Corpulent, that he could not go up and down Stairs, but made use of an Ingine, when he intended to walk in his Garden, by which he was let down and drawn up. He had an old Sore in his Leg, that pained him much, the Humours of his Body discharging themselves that way, till at last all setled in a Dropsy. Those about him were afraid to let him know that his Death seemed near, lest that might have been brought within the Statute of foretelling his Death, which was made Treason. His Will was made ready, and as it was given out, was signed by him on the 30*th* of *December*. He had made one at his last going over to *France*. All the Change that he made at this time was, that he ordered *Gardiner*'s Name to be struck out, for in that formerly made, he was named one of the Executors. When Sir *Anthony Brown* endeavoured to perswade him not to put that Disgrace on an old Servant, he continued positive in it; for he said, he knew his Temper, and could govern him; but it would not be in the Power of others to do it, if he were put in so high a Trust. The most material thing in the Will, was, the preferring the Children of his second Sister, by *Charles Brandon*, to the Children of his eldest Sister the Queen of *Scotland*, in the Succession to the Crown. Some Objecti-

Book I. 1547. *The King's Sickness.*

Book I. ons were made to the Validity and Truth of the Will. It was not ſigned by the
1547. King's Hand, as it was directed by the Act of Parliament, but only ſtamped with his Name; and it was ſaid, this was done when he was dying, without any Order given for it by himſelf; for proof of which, the *Scots* that were moſt concerned, appeale d to many Witneſſes; and chiefly, to a Depoſition which the Lord *Paget* had made, who was then Secretary of State. On his Death-bed he finiſhed the Foundation of Trinity-Colledge in *Cambridge*, and of Chriſt's-Church Hoſpital near *Newgate*; yet this laſt was not ſo fully ſetled as was needful, till his Son compleated what he had begun.

And Death. On the 27*th* of *January*, his Spirits ſunk ſo, that it was viſible he had not long to live. Sir *Anthony Denny* took the courage to tell him, that Death was approaching, and deſired him to call on God for his Mercy. The King expreſt in general his Sorrow for his paſt Sins, and his Truſt in the Mercies of God in Chriſt Jeſus. He ordered *Cranmer* to be ſent for, but he was ſpeechleſs before he could be brought from *Croidon*; yet he gave a Sign that he underſtood what he ſaid to him, and ſoon after, he died, in the 57*th* Year of his Age, after he had reigned 37 Years, and nine Months. His Death was concealed three days, for the Parliament which was diſſolved with his laſt Breath, continued to do

do buſineſs till the 31*ſt*, and then his Death was publiſhed. It is probable the *Seimours* concealed it ſo long, till they made a Party for the putting the Government into their own Hands. Book I. 1547.

The Severities he uſed againſt many of his Subjects in matters of Religion, made both ſides write with great Sharpneſs of him: His Temper was Imperious and Cruel: He was both ſudden and violent in his Revenges, and ſtuck at nothing by which he could either gratify his Luſt, or his Paſſion. This was much provoked, by the Sentence the Pope thundered againſt him, by the virulent Books Cardinal *Pool* and others publiſhed, by the Rebellions that were raiſed in *England*, and the Apprehenſions he was in of the Emperour's Greatneſs, and of the Inclinations his People had to have joined with him, together with what he had read in Hiſtory of the Fates of thoſe Princes, againſt whom Popes had thundered in former times; all which, made him think it neceſſary to keep his People under the Terror of a ſevere Government; and by ſome publick Examples to ſecure the Peace of the Nation; and thereby to prevent a more profuſe Effuſion of Blood, which might have otherwiſe followed if he had been more gentle. And it was no wonder if after the Pope depoſed him, he proceeded to great Severities againſt all that which ſupported that Authority. *An account of his Severities againſt the Prieſts.*

Book I. The first Instance of Capital Proceedings upon that account, was in *Easter*-Term, 1535, in which, three Priors and a Monk of the Carthusian Order, were condemned of Treason, for saying, that the King was not Supream Head of the Church of *England*. It was then only a *Premunire*, not to swear to the Supremacy, but it was made Treason to deny it, or speak against it. *Hall*, a Secular Priest, was at the same time condemned of Treason, 'for calling the King a Tyrant, an 'Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; 'and saying, that he would die as King '*John*, or *Richard* the Third died; and that 'it would never be well with the Church 'till the King was brought to Pot: And 'that they looked when *Ireland* and *Wales* 'would rise; and were assured that three 'parts of four in *England* would join with them. All these pleaded *not Guilty*; but being condemned, they justified what they had said. The *Carthusians* were hanged in their Habits. Soon after that, three *Carthusians* were condemned, and executed at *London*, & two more at *York*, upon the same account, for opposing the King's Supremacy. Ten other Monks were shut up in their Cells, of whom nine died there, and one was condemned, and hanged. These had been all Complices in the Business of the Maid of *Kent*; and tho that was pardoned, yet it gave the Government ground to have a watchful Eye over them, and to proceed

1547. *The Carthusians in particular.*

proceed more ſeverly againſt them upon the firſt Provocation, Book I.

After theſe, *Fiſher* and *More* were brought to their Trials; Pope *Clements* officious Kindneſs to *Fiſher* in declaring him a Cardinal, did haſten his Ruine, tho he was little concerned at that Honour that was done him. He was tried by a Jury of Commoners, and was found guilty of Treaſon, for having ſpoken againſt the King's Supremacy: but inſtead of the Common Death in Caſes of Treaſon, the King ordered him to be beheaded. On the 22*th* of *June* he ſuffered. He dreſſed himſelf with more then ordinary Care that day; for he ſaid it was to be his Wedding-Day. As he was led out, he opened the New Teſtament at a Venture, and prayed, that ſuch a place might turn up as might comfort him in his laſt Moments. The Words on which he caſt his Eyes were, *This is Life Eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* So he ſhut the Book, and continued meditating on theſe Words to the laſt. On the Scaffold he repeated the *Te Deum*, and ſo laid his Head on the Block, which was ſevered from his Body. He was a learned and devout Man, but much addicted to Superſtition, and too cruel in his Temper againſt Hereticks. He had been Confeſſor to the King's Grand-Mother, and perſwaded her to found two Colledges in *Cambridge*, *Chriſt*'s and St *John*'s; in Acknowledg-

1547. Fiſher's *Sufferings.*

Book I. ment of which, he was chosen Chancel-
of the University. *Henry* the Seventh made
1535. him Bishop of *Rochester*: He would never exchange that for any other: He said his Church was his Wife, and he would not part with his Wife because she was Poor. He was much esteemed by this King, till the Suit of the Divorce was set on foot; and then he adhered stifly to the Marriage, and the Popes Supremacy; and that made him too favourable to the Nun of *Kent*. But the Severities of his long Imprisonment, together with this bloody Conclusion of it, were universally condemned all the World over; only *Gardiner* imploied his Servile Pen to write a Vindication of the King's Proceedings against him. It was writ in Elegant Latin, but the Stile was thought too Vehement.

More's *Death.* It was harder to find matter against Sir *Thomas More*, for he was very cautious, and satisfied his own Conscience by not swearing the Supremacy, but would not not speak against it. 'He said the Act had 'two Edges, if he consented to it, it would 'damne his Soul; and if he spoke against it, 'it would condemn his Body. This was 'all the Message he sent to *Fisher*, when he 'desired to know his Opinion about it; he 'had also said the same to the Duke of *Nor-* 'folk and some Counsellors that came to ex- 'amine him. And *Rich*, then the King's 'Solicitor, coming as a private Friend, to 'perswade him to swear the Oath, urged

'him

'him with the Act of Parliament, and ask- Book I.
'ed him, if he ſhould be made King by
'Act of Parliament, would not he Ac- 1535.
'knowledge him: He anſwered, he would;
'becauſe a King might be made, or de-
'prived by a Parliament. But the Mat-
'ter of the Supremacy was a point of Re-
'ligion, to which the Parliament's Au-
'thority did not extend it ſelf. All this *Rich* witneſſed againſt him; ſo theſe Particulars were laid together, as amounting to a Denial of the King's Supremacy, and upon this he was judged guilty of Treaſon. He received his Sentence with that equal Temper of Mind which he had ſhewed in both Conditions of Life. He expreſſed great Contempt of the World, and much Wearineſs in living in it. His ordinary Facetiouſneſs remained with him to his laſt Moment on the Scaffold. Some cenſured that as affected and indecent, and as having more of the Stoick than the Chriſtian in it. But others ſaid, that way of Railery had been ſo Cuſtomary to him, that Death did not diſcompoſe him, nor put him out of his ordinary Humour. He was beheaded on the *6th* of *July*, in the 52*d* or 53*d* Year of his Age. He had great Capacities, and eminent Vertues. In his Youth he had freer thoughts, but he was afterwards much corrupted by Superſtition, and became fierce for all the Intereſts of the Clergy. He wrote much in Defence of all the old Abuſes. His Learning in Divinity was

but

Book I. but ordinary; for he had read little more than some of St. *Austin*'s Treatises, and the 1535. Canon Law, and the Master of the Sentences, beyond whom, his Quotations do seldom go. His Stile was Natural and Pleasant; and he could turn things very dextrously to make them look well or ill as it served his Purpose. But tho he suffered for denying the Kings Supremacy, yet he was at first no Zealot for the Pope: 'For he says of himself, That when the 'King shewed him his Book in Manuscript, 'which he wrote against *Luther*, he advis-'ed him to leave out that which he had put 'in it concerning the Pope's Power, for he 'did not know what Quarrels he might 'have afterwards with the Pope's, and then 'that would be turned against him. But the King was perhaps fond of what he had written, and so he would not follow that wise Advice which he gave him.

1537. *Attainders after the Rebellion.* There were no Executions after this, till the Rebellions of *Lincolnshire* and *Yorkshire* gave new Occasions to Severity; and then not only the Lords of *Darcy* and *Hussy*, but six Abbots, and many Gentlemen; the chief of whom was, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, were attainted. They had not only been in the Rebellion, but had forfeited the General Pardon, by their new Attempts, after it was proclaimed: Yet some said, the King took Advantage on very slight Grounds to break his Indemnity. But on the other hand,

hand, it was no Wonder if he proceeded with the utmoſt Rigour againſt thoſe who had raiſed ſuch a Storm in the Kingdom, and in particular againſt thoſe Abbots and Monks who had ſworn to maintain his Supremacy, and yet were the chief Incendiaries that had ſet the Kingdom on Fire. Book I. 1537.

Forreſt was burnt.

One *Forreſt*, an Obſervant Friar, had been Queen *Katherin*'s Confeſſor, but forſook her Intereſts; and not only ſwore to the King's Supremacy, but uſed ſuch Inſinuations, that he had a large ſhare of the King's Favour and Confidence. He was look'd on as a Reproach to his Order, and uſed great Cruelties in their Houſe at *Greenwich*. He ſhut up one that he believed gave Intelligence of all they did to the Court; and uſed him ſo ill, that he died in their hands. It was alſo found, that in ſecret Confeſſion, he had alienated many from the King's Supremacy; and being queſtioned for it, he ſaid, he had taken the Oath *for it only with his outward Man, but his inward Man had never conſented to it*. But he offered to recant and abjure this Opinion; yet being afterwards diverted from that, he was condemned as an Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield*. A Pardon was offered him at the Stake, if he would recant; but he refuſed it. A great Image that was brought out of *Wales*, was hewed in pieces, and ſerved for Fewel to burn him. The Writers of that time ſay, he denied the Goſpel, and that he had little Knowledge of God in his

Book I. his Life, and ſhewed leſs Truſt in him at his Death.

1538. *The Attainders of Cardinal Pool's Friends.* The Winter after this, a Correſpondence was diſcovered between Cardinal *Pool*, and *Courtney*, Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and *Pool*'s Brother, the Lord *Mountacute*, and ſeveral others. It was believed, that Sir *Geoffrey Pool*, another of the Brothers, betrayed the reſt. They had expreſſed ſome Kindneſs for the Cardinal and his Proceedings; and had ſaid, that they looked to ſee a Change in *England*; and that they hoped the King would die ere long, and then all would go well; with ſeveral other Words to that purpoſe, for which they were Attainted, and Executed. Others were alſo condemned for calling the King a *Beaſt, and worſe than a Beaſt*; and that he would be certainly damned for plucking down the Abbies. Cardinal *Pool*, and ſeveral others, that had fled out of the Kingdom, and had Confederated themſelves with the Pope againſt the King, were alſo Attainted. Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Maſter of the Horſe, and Knight of the Garter, was likewiſe condemned, for having ſaid, that the Attainder of the Marquis of *Exeter was cruel and unjuſt*. He renounced the Superſtitions of Popery, and embraced the Reformation before he ſuffered.

1539. *Attainders in Parliament without hearing the Parties.* After theſe Judgments and Executions were over, a new and unheard of Precedent was made, of Attainting ſome without bringing them to make their Anſwers, which

which is a Blemish on this Reign, that can never be washed off, and was a Breach of the most sacred and unalterable Rules of Justice. The first that were so condemned were, the Marchioness of *Exeter*, and the Countess of *Sarum*, Mother to Card. *Pool*. The special Matter charged on the former, was, her Confederating her self with Sir *Nicholas Carew*; and that against the other was, the Confederating with her Son, Cardinal *Pool*. No Witnesses were examined to prove these things against them; perhaps some Depositions might have been read in Parliament. *Cromwell* shewed a Coat which was found among the Countess of *Sarum*'s Cloaths, on which the Standard used by the *Yorkshire* Rebels was wrought; from which it was inferred, that she approved of them. Fourteen others were Attainted by the same Act: six of them were Priests, one was a Knight Hospitaller, four were Gentlemen, one was a Merchant, and two were Yeomen; all were condemned for Confederating with the Pope or Cardinal *Pool*; or asserting the Pope's Supremacy; or endeavouring to raise Rebellion: But against four of them, there is nothing but Treason in General Words alledged. This Bill was past in two days by the Lords, and in five by the Commons: But of all these, only three were executed, these were the Countess of *Sarum*; tho not till two Years after this; and Sir *Adrian Fortescue*, and *Dingley*, the Knight of St. *John* of

Book I. 1539.

Book I. of *Jeruſalem*. In the Counteſs of *Sarum* did the Name of *Plantagenet* end: She was about 70 Years old, but ſhewed that in that Age ſhe had a Vigorous and Maſculine Mind.

1539.

In the Parliament that ſate in the Year 1540, ſeveral others were Attainted in the ſame manner, without being heard, and for the ſame Crimes. *Fetherſton*, *Abel*, and *Powel*, and ſix more, were ſo condemned; but thoſe three only ſuffered. By another Act of the ſame Parliament, the Lord *Hungerford*, and his Chaplain, *Bird*, were Attainted: His Chaplain had often Perſwaded him to rebel; and had ſaid, that the King was the greateſt Heretick in the World. *Hungerford* had alſo ordered ſome of his other Chaplains to uſe Conjuring, that they might know how long the King would live, and whether he would be Victorious over his Enemies. He was alſo charged for having lived in Sodomy with ſeveral of his Servants, three Years together. He was ſoon after executed, and died in great diſorder.

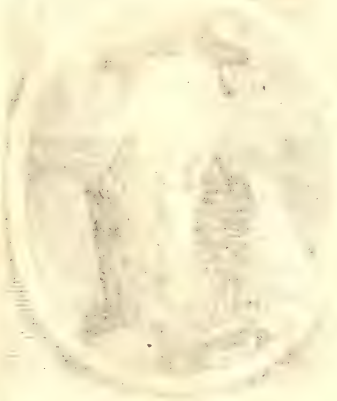
In the Year 1541, Five Prieſts, and ten Laymen, were ſtirring up the People in the North to a new Rebellion; but it was prevented, and they ſuffered for it. In the Year 1543, *Gardiner* that was the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Secretary, and three other Prieſts, were condemned, and executed, for denying the King's Supremacy: and this was the laſt Occaſion that was given to the King to ſhew his Severity on that account.

In

In all these Executions it cannot be denied but the Laws were excessively severe, and the Proceedings upon them were never tempered with that Mildness which ought to be often applied for the mitigating the rigour of Penal Laws: But tho they are much aggravated by Popish Writers; they were far short of the Cruelties used in Queen *Mary*'s Reign. Book I. 1539.

To conclude, We have now gone through the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, who is rather to be reckoned among the Great, than the Good Princes. He exercised so much Severity on Men of both Perswasions, that the Writers of both sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him; so none have taken so much care to set forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the *ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the *worst*.

THE



QUEEN MARY

QUEEN IANE

EDWARD SEYMOR
Protector

BISHOP RIDLEY

London, Printed for Richard Chiſwell

CARDINAL POOLE

BISHOP GARDENER

QUEEN ELIZABETH

I. Sturt fec.

ARCH BISHOP PARKER

London Printed for Richard Chiswell.

BOOK II.

Of the Life and Reign of King EDWARD *the* VI.

EDWARD was the only Son of King *Henry*, by his beſt beloved Wife *Jane Seimour*; born the 12*th*. of *October* 1537. His Mother died the day after he was born, of a Diſtemper incident to Women in her condition, and was not ripped up by Chirurgeons, as ſome Writers have reported, on deſign to repreſent King *Henry* as barbarous and cruel to all his Wives. At ſix years of Age he was put into the hands of Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*, the one was to form his mind, and to teach him Philoſophy and Divinity, the other was to teach him the Tongues and Mathematicks: other Maſters were alſo appointed for the other parts of his Education. He diſcovered very early a good diſpoſition to Religion and

1547. K. *Edwards* Birth and education.

Book II. Vertue, and a particular Reverence for the Scriptures: for he took it very ill when one about him laid a great Bible on the Floor, to ſtep up on it to ſomewhat which was out of his reach, without ſuch an advantage. He profited well in Letters, and wrote at eight Years old Latin Letters frequently both to the King, to Q. *Katherine Parre*, to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Uncle the Earl of *Hartford*, who had been firſt made Viſcount *Beauchamp*, being the Heir by his Mother of that Family, and was after that advanced to be an Earl.

1547.

In the end of his Fathers life, it had been deſigned to create him Prince of *Wales*: for that was one of the reaſons given to haſten the attainder of the D. of *Norfolk*, becauſe he held ſome places during life, which the King intended to put in other hands, in order to that Ceremony. Upon his Fathers death the E. of *Hartford* and Sir *Anth. Brown* were ſent to bring him up to the Tower of *London:* and when King *Henry*'s death was publiſhed, he was proclaimed King.

K. *Hen.* teſtament. At his coming to the Tower his Fathers Will was opened, by which it was found that he had named 16. to be the Governors of the Kingdom, and of his Sons perſon till he ſhould be eighteen Years of Age. Theſe were the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriotheſly* Lord Chancellor, Lord *St. John* Great Maſter, Lord *Ruſſel* Lord Privy Seal, Earl *Hartford* Lord Great Chamberlain, Viſ. *Liſle* Lord Admiral, *Tonſtall* B. of *Dureſme*, Sir *Anth. Brown* Maſter of the Horſe,

Horſe, Sr *Will. Paget* Secretary of State, Sr *Ed. North* Chancellour of the Augmentations, Sir *Ed. Mountague* Ld Chief Juſt. of the Common Pleas, Judge *Bromley*, Sir *Anth. Denny* and Sir *Will. Herbert* Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Sr *Ed. Wotton* Treaſurer of *Callis*, & Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. They were alſo to give the Kings Siſters in Marriage, and if they married without their conſent, they were to forfeit their right of ſucceſſion: for the King was Impowered by Act of Parliament to leave the Crown to them with what limitations he ſhould think fit to appoint. There was alſo a Privy Council named to be their Aſſiſtants in the Government; if any of the 16. died, the Survivers were to continue in the Adminiſtration, without a power to ſubſtitute others in their rooms who ſhould die. It was now propoſed that one ſhould be choſen out of the 16. to whom Ambaſſadours ſhould addreſs themſelves, and who ſhould have the chief direction of affairs; but ſhould be reſtrained to do nothing but by the conſent of the greater part of the other Co-executors. The Chancellor, who thought the Precedence fell to him by his Office, ſince the Archbiſhop did not meddle much in ſecular Affairs, oppoſed this much, and ſaid it was a change of the Kings will; who had made them all equal in power and dignity; and if any were raiſed above the reſt in Title, it would not be poſſible to keep him within due bounds, ſince great Titles make way for High Power: but the Earl of *Hart-*

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ford had so prepared his Friends, that it was carried that he should be declared the Governour of the Kings Person, and the Protector of the Kingdom, with this restriction, that he should do nothing but by the advice and consent of the rest. Upon this advancement, and the opposition made to it, two Parties were formed, the one headed by the Protector, and the other by the Chancellour: the favourers of the Reformation were of the former, and those that opposed it were of the latter. The Chancellor was ordered to renew the Commissions of the Judges and Justices of Peace, and King *Henry*'s great Seal was to be made use of, till a new one should be made. The day after this all the Executors took their Oaths to execute their trust faithfully, the Privy Councellors were also brought into the Kings presence, who did all express their satisfaction in the choice that was made of the Protector: and it was ordered that all dispatches to foreign Princes should be signed only by him. All that held Offices were required to come and renew their Commissions, and to swear Allegiance to the King: among the rest, the Bishops came and took out such Commissions as were granted in the former Reign, only by those they were subaltern to the Kings Vicegerent, but there being none now in that Office, they were immediately subaltern to the King; and by them they were to hold their Bishopricks only during the Kings pleasure, and were impowered in the Kings name, as his

A Protector chosen.

Bishops take out Commissions.

his Delegates, to perform all the parts of the Episcopal function. *Cranmer* set an Example to the rest in taking out one of those. It was thought fit thus to keep the Bishops under the terror of such an Arbitrary power lodged in the King, that so it might be more easie to turn them out, if they should much oppose what might be done in points of Religion: but the ill consequences of such an unlimited power being well foreseen, the Bishops that were afterwards promoted were not so fettered, but were provided to hold their Bishopricks during life. Book II. 1547.

The late King had in his Will required his Executors to perform all the promises he had made; so *Paget* was required to give an account of the Promises the late King had made; and he declared upon Oath, that upon the prospect of the attainder of the D. of *Norfolk*, the King intended a Creation of Peers, and to divide his Lands among them; the Persons to be raised, were *Hartford* to be a Duke, *Essex* a Marques, *Lisle*, *Russel*, *St. John*, and *Wriotheſly* to be Earls, Sir *Tho. Seimour*, *Cheyney*, *Rich*, *Willoughby*, *Arundell*, *Sheffield*, *St. Leger*, *Wymbish*, *Vernon*, and *Danby* to be Barons, and a division was to be made of the Duke of *Norfolks* Estate among them: some shares were also set off for others, who were not to be advanced in Title, as *Denny* and *Herbert*: and they finding *Paget* had been mindful of them, but had not mentioned himself, had moved the King for a share to him. The King appointed *Paget* to give notice of this to the

A Creation of Noblemen.

Book II. 1547.

Persons named: but many excused themselves, and desired no addition of honor, since the Lands which the King intended to give them were not sufficient to support that dignity. The Duke of *Norfolk* prevented all this, for being apprehensive of the ruine of his Family, if his Estate were once divided, he sent a message to the King, desiring him to convert it all to be a Revenue to the Prince of *Wales*. This wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to reward those he intended to raise another way, and he appointed that Estate to be kept entire, and the Kings distemper increasing on him, he at last came to a resolution, that the E. of *Hartford* should be made a Duke, & be made both Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Essex* a Marques, *Lisle* and *Wriothesly* Earls, and *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Sheffield*, *St. Leger*, *Willoughby* and *Danby* Barons, with Revenues in Lands to every one of them: and the Earl of *Hartford* was to have the first good Deanery and Treasurership, and the four best Prebends that should fall in any Cathedral. But though the King had resolved on this, and had ordered *Paget* to propose it to the Persons concerned, yet his Disease increased so fast on him, that he never finished it: and therefore he ordered his Executors to perform all that should appear to have been promised by him. The greatest part of this was also confirmed by *Denny* and *Herbert*, to whom the King had talked of it, and had shewed the design of it in writing, as it had been agreed between

Paget

Paget and him. So the Executors being concerned in this themſelves, it may be eaſily ſuppoſed that they determined to execute this part of their truſt very faithfully. Yet the King being then like to be engaged in Wars, they reſolved neither to leſſen his Treaſure nor Revenue, but to find another way for giving the Rewards intended by the King, which was afterwards done by the ſale and diſtribution of the Chantry Lands. Book II. 1547.

The Caſtle of St. *Andrews* was then much preſſed; ſo they ſent down by *Balnaves*, the Agent of that party, 1180 *l.* for the pay of the Garriſon; they gave alſo penſions to the chief ſupporters of their Intereſt in *Scotland*, to ſome 250, to others 200 *l.* or leſs, according to their intereſt in the Countrey. The King received the Ceremony of Knighthood from the Protector, and Knighted the Mayor of *London* the ſame day.

Lay-men had Eccleſiaſtical Dignities.

The grant of ſo many Eccleſiaſtical Dignities to the Earl of *Hartford*, was no extraordinary thing at that time, for as *Cromwel* had been Dean of *Wells*, ſo diverſe other Lay-men were provided to them; which was thus excuſed, becauſe there was no cure of Souls belonging to them; and during vacancies, even in times of Popery, the Kings had by their own Authority, by the Right of the *Regale*, given Inſtitution to them, ſo that they ſeem'd to be no Spiritual imployments, and the Eccleſiaſticks that had enjoyed them, had been a lazy

Book II. 1547.

and sensual sort of men, so that their abusing those Revenues, either to luxury, or to the enriching their kindred by the spoils of the Church, had this effect that the putting them in Lay hands gave no great scandal; and that the rather, because a simple tonsure qualified a man for them by the Canons. These foundations were at first designed for a Nursery to the Dioceſs, in which the young Clergy were to be educated, or for a retreat to those who were more speculative, and not so fit for the service of the Church in the active parts of the Pastoral care; so it had been an excellent design to have reformed them, and restored them to the purposes for which they were at first intended: And it was both against *Magna Charta*, and all Natural Equity, to take them out of the hands of Churchmen, and give them to those of the Laity. But it was no wonder to see men yet under the influence of the Canon Law, commit such errors.

Some take down Images.

At the same time an accident fell out, that made way for great changes; the Curate and Church-wardens of St. *Martins*, in *London*, were brought before the Council for removing the Crucifix, and other Images, and putting some Texts of Scripture on the Walls of their Church, in the places where they stood: They Answered, That they going to repair their Church, removed the Images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put places of Scripture in their room: They had also

remo-

removed others, which they found had been abused to Idolatry. Great pains was taken by the Popish party to punish them severely, for striking terrour into others; but *Cranmer* was for the removing of all Images which were set up in Churches, expressly contrary both to the Second Commandment, and to the practice of the Christians for diverse ages: And though in compliance with the gross abuses of Paganism there was very early much of the Pomp of their worship brought into the Christian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At first all Images were condemned by the Fathers: then they allowed the use of them, but condemned the worshipping of them, and afterwards in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries the worshipping of them was, after a long contest, both in the East and West, in which there were, by turns, General Councils, that both approved and condemned them, at last generally received, and then the reverence for them, and for some in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the cheats of the Monks, who had enriched themselves by such means: And it was grown to such a height, that Heathenism it self had been guilty of nothing more absurd towards its Idols; and the singular vertues in some Images, shewed they were not worshipp'd only as Representations, for then all should have equal degrees of veneration paid to them. And since all these abuses had risen meerly out of the bare use

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Arguments for and against it.

Book II. use of them, and the setting them up being contrary to the command of God, and the nature of the Christian Religion, 1547. which is simple and Spiritual; it seemed most reasonable to cure the disease in its root, and to clear the Churches of Images, that so the people might be preserved from Idolatry. These Reasons prevail'd so far, that the Curate and Wardens were dismissed with a Reprimand; they were required to beware of such rashness for the future, and to provide a Crucifix, and till that could be had, they were ordered to cause one to be painted on the Wall. Upon this, Dr. *Ridley* being to preach before the King, inveighed against the superstition towards Images and Holy Water, and there was a general disposition over all the Nation to pull them down; which was soon after effected in *Portsmouth*. Upon that, *Gardiner* made great complaints, he said the *Lutherans* themselves went not so far, for he had seen Images in their Churches; he argued from the Kings face on the Coyn and Great Seal for the use of Images, and that the Law of *Moses* did no more bind in this particular, than in that of abstaining from Blood: He distinguished between Image and Idol, as if the one, which he said was only condemned, was the representation of a False God, and the other of the True; and he thought, that as words conveyed by the Ear begat devotion, so Images, by the conveyance of the Eye, might have the same effect on the mind: He also thought, a vertue might be

be both in them and in Holy Water, as well as there was in *Christ*'s Garments, *Peter*'s Shadow, or *Elisha*'s Staffe: And there might be a Vertue in Holy Water, as well as in the Water of Baptism. He also mentioned the Vertue that was in the Cramp-Rings, blessed by the late King, which he had known to be much esteemed and sought after, and he hoped their young King would not neglect that gift. But to these things which *Gardiner* wrote in several Letters, the Protector, perhaps by *Cranmer*'s direction, wrote answer, that the Bishops had formerly argued much in another strain, that because the Scriptures were abused by the vulgar Readers, therefore they were not to be trusted to them; and so made a pretended abuse, the ground of taking away that, which by Gods special appointment was to be delivered to all Christians: This did hold much stronger against Images that were forbidden by God. The Brazen Serpent set up by *Moses*, by Gods own direction, was broken when abused to Idolatry; for that was the greatest corruption of Religion possible: And the Civil respect payed to the Kings Image on a Seal, or on the Coyn, did not justifie the dotage upon Images. But yet the Protector acknowledged he had reason to complain of the forwardness of the people, that broke down Images without authority. This was the first step that was made in this Reign, towards a Reformation, of which the sequel shall appear afterwards. Orders were sent to the Justices of the

Book II. 1547.

Book II. 1547. the Peace, to look well to the Peace and Government of the Nation, to meet often, and every six weeks to advertise the Protector of the state of the County to which they belonged.

The Kings Funeral. The Funerals of the deceased King were performed with the ordinary Ceremonies at *Windsor*: One thing gave those that hated him some advantages; his Body was carried the first day to *Sheen*, which had been a Nunnery, and there some of the moisture and fat dropt through the Coffin; and to make it a compleat accomplishment of *Peyto*'s denunciation, that *Dogs should lick his Blood*, it was said the Dogs next day licked it. This in a Corpulent man was so far from a wonder, that it had been a wonder if it had been otherwise, and was a certain sign of nothing but the Plummers carelesness, and their weakness and malice that made such Inferences from it. The King left six hundred pounds a year to the Church of *Windsor*, for Priests to say Mass for his Soul every day, and for four Obits a year, and Sermons, and distribution of Alms at every one of them, and for a Sermon every *Sunday*, and a maintenance for thirteen poor Knights, which was setled upon that Church by his Executors in due form of Law.

Soul Masses examined. The Pomp of this Endowment now in a more Inquisitive Age led people to examine the usefulness of Soul Masses and Obits. Christ appointed the Sacrament for a commemoration of his Death among the living, but

but it was not eaſie to conceive how that was to be applied to departed Souls. For all the good that they could receive, ſeemed only applicable to the prayers for them; but bare Prayers would not have wrought ſo much on the people, nor would they have payed ſo dear for them. It was a clear project for drawing in the wealth of the World into their hands. In the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Dead, or an Honourable Remembrance of them made in the daily Offices, and for ſome very ſmall faults their names were not mentioned, which would not have had done if they had looked upon that as a thing that was really a relief to them in another ſtate. But even this cuſtome grew to be abuſed, and ſome inferred from it, that departed Souls, unleſs they were ſignally pure, paſſed through a Purgation in the next life, before they were admitted to Heaven: Of which St. *Auſtin*, in whoſe time the opinion was beginning to be received, ſays, that it was taken up without any ſure ground in Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture proof was ſupplied by Viſions, Dreams and Tales, till it was generally received. King *Henry* had acted like one that did not much believe it, for he was to expect no good uſage in Purgatory, from thoſe Souls whom he had deprived of the Maſſes that were ſaid for them in Monaſteries, by deſtroying thoſe Foundations. Yet it ſeems he intended to make ſure work for himſelf, ſo that if Maſſes could avail the departed Souls,

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Souls, he resolved to have his share of it; and as he gratified the Priests by this part of his Endowment, so he pleased the people by appointing Sermons and Alms to be given on such days. Thus he died as he had lived, swimming between both perswasions. And it occasioned no small debate, when men sought to find out what his opinions were in the controverted points of Religion: For the esteem he was in made both sides study to justifie themselves, by seeming to follow his sentiments; the one party said he was resolved never to alter Religion, but only to cut off some abuses, and intended to go no further than he had gone: They did therefore vehemently press the others to innovate nothing, but to keep things in the state in which he left them, till his Son should come of Age: But the opposite party said, that he had resolved to go a great way further, and particularly to turn the Mass to a Communion; and therefore Religion being of such consequence to the Salvation of Souls, it was necessary to make all the haste in Reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the diversions of the Coronation took them off from more serious thoughts: The Protector was made Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Essex* Marques of *Northampton*, the Lords *Lisle* and *Wriothesley* Earls of *Warwick* and *Southampton*, *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* and *Sheffield*, were made Barons. In order to the Kings Coronation, the Office for that Ceremony was reviewed, and much shortned: One remarkable

The Coronation.

kable alteration was, that formerly the King used to be presented to the people at the corners of the Scaffold, and they were asked, If they would have him to be their King? Which looked like a rite of an Election, rather than a Ceremony of Investing one that was already King. This was now changed, and the people were desired only to give their assents and good will to his Coronation, as by the duty of Allegiance they were bound to do. On the twentieth of *February* he was Crowned, and a General Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, and some others were excepted.

The Chancellour, who was lookt on as the head of the Popish party, gave now an advantage against himself, which was very readily laid hold on. He granted a Commission to the Master of the Rolls and three Masters of Chancery, of whom two were Civilians, to execute his Office in the Court of Chancery, as if he were present, only their Decrees were to be brought to him to be Signed, before they should be Inrolled. This being done without any authority from the Protector, and the other Executors, was thought a high Presumption, since he did hereby devolve on others that trust which was deposited in his hands. Upon this, some Lawyers complained to the Protector, and they seem'd also apprehensive of a design to change the Common Laws, which was occasioned by the Decrees made by the Civilians, that were

The Chancellour turned out.

were more suted to the Imperial, than to
Book II. the *English* Laws. The Judges being de-
sired to give their opinions, made report,
1547. That what the Chancellour had done was
against Law, and that he had forfeited his
place, and might be imprisoned for it du-
ring pleasure. But he carried it high, he
threatned both the Judges and Lawyers;
and when it was urged that he had forfeit-
ed his place, he said he had it from the late
King, who had likewise named him one of
the Executors, during his Sons minority. But
it was answered, That the major part had
power over any of the rest, otherwise one
of them might rebel, and pretend he could
not be punished by the rest. He being dri-
ven out of that, was more humble, and
acknowledged he had no Warrant for
granting the Commission, he thought by
his Office he might lawfully do it, he asked
Pardon for his offence, and desired he
might lose his place with as little disgrace
as was possible; and then it was resolved
on by the rest to take the Seal from him,
and to Fine him as they should afterwards
think fit. So he being suffered to go home
with the Seal, the Lord *Seimour*, and some
others were sent to demand it of him:
He was also confined to his house, and
kept under the terrour of an Arbitrary
Fine. But upon giving a Bond of 4000 *l.*
to be payed upon demand, he was freed
from his confinement: Yet he was not put
out of the trust of the King and the Go-
vernment, for it seems the Council did
not

not look on that as a thing that was in their power to do.

Soon after this, the Protector took a Patent for his Office under the Great Seal, then in the keeping of the Lord *St. John*; by which he was confirmed in his Authority, till the King should be eighteen years of Age; he was also authorized to bring in new Councellours, besides those enumerated in the Patent, who are both the Executors and the Councellours nominated by the late King: The Protector, with so many of the Council as he thought meet, were empowered to administer the affairs of the Kingdom; but the Council was limited to do nothing without his Advice and Consent. And thus was he now as well established in his Authority as Law could make him. He had a Negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own creatures into it, or select a Cabinet Council out of it as he pleased: And the other Executors having now delivered up their Authority to him, were only Privy Councellors as the rest were, without retaining any singular authority peculiar to them, as was provided by King *Henry*'s Will.

1547. *March.* Protectors Patent.

The first business of consequence that required great consideration, was the *Smalcaldick* War, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of that League; the effects of which, if the Emperor prevailed, were like to be, not only the extirpating of

The affairs of *Germany*.

Book II. 1547.

Lutheranism, but his being the absolute Master of *Germany*; which the Emperor chiefly designed, in order to an Universal Monarchy, but disguised it to other Princes: to the *Pope*, he pretended that his design was only to extirpate Heresie; to other Princes, he pretended it was only to repress some Rebels, and denied all design of suppressing their new Doctrines; which he managed so artificially, that he divided *Germany* it self, and got some *Lutheran* Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals: and having obtained a very liberal supply for his Wars with *France* and the *Turk*, for which he granted an Edict for liberty of Religion, he made Peace with both those Princes, and resolved to imploy that Treasure which the *Germans* had given him, against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he used means to engage King *Henry*, and *Francis* the First in a War, but that was, chiefly by their Interposition, composed. And now when the War was like to be carried on with great Vigour, they lost both those Princes; for as *Henry* died in *January*, so *Francis* followed him into another World, in *March* following. Many of their Confederates began to capitulate and forsake them; and the divided command of the Duke of *Saxe*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse* lost them great advantages, the former year; in which it had been easie to have driven the Emperor out of *Germany*: but it fell often out, that when the one was for engaging, the other was against it, which made

made many very doubtful of their ſucceſs. The *Pope* had a mind to engage the Emperor in a War in *Germany*, that ſo *Italy* might be at quiet: and in order to that, and to Imbroil the Emperor with all the *Lutherans*, he publiſhed his Treaty with him, that ſo it might appear that the deſign of the War was to extirpate Hereſie; though the Emperor was making great proteſtations to the contrary in *Germany*. He alſo opened the Council of *Trent*, which the Emperor had long deſired in vain; but it was now brought upon him, when he leaſt wiſhed for it: for the Proteſtants did all declare, that they could not look upon it as a free General Council, ſince it was ſo entirely at the *Popes* devotion, that not ſo much as a Reformation of ſome of the groſſeſt abuſes that could not be juſtified, was like to be obtained, unleſs clogged with ſuch Clauſes as made it ineffectual. Nor could the Emperor prevail with the Council, not to proceed to eſtabliſh the doctrine, and condemn Hereſie; but the more he obſtructed that by delays, the more did the *Pope* drive it on, to open the eyes of the *Germans*, and engage them all vigorouſly againſt the Emperor: yet he gave them ſuch ſecret aſſurances of tollerating the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, that the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* declared for him, and that, joyned with the hopes of the *Electorate*, drew in *Maurice* of *Saxe*. The Count *Palatine* was old and feeble, the Archbiſhop of *Colen* would not make reſiſtance, but

Book II. 1547.

The Council of *Trent*.

Book II. retired, being condemned both by *Pope* and Emperor, and many of the Cities ſubmitted. And *Maurice* by falling into *Saxe*, 1547. forced the Elector to ſeparate from the Landgrave, and return to the defence of his own Dominions. This was the ſtate of the affairs in *Germany*: ſo it was a hard point to reſolve on, what anſwer the Protector ſhould give to the Duke of *Saxe*'s Chancellor, whom he ſent over to obtain an Aid in Money, for carrying on the War. It was on the one hand of great importance to the ſafety of *England* to preſerve the *German* Princes, and yet it was very dangerous to begin a War of ſuch Conſequence under an Infant King. At preſent they promiſed, within three Months, to ſend by the Merchants of the Still-yard 50000 Crowns to *Hamburgh*, and reſolved to do no more till new Emergents ſhould lead them to new Councels.

Diviſions in *England*. The Nation was in an ill condition for a War, with ſuch a mighty Prince, labouring under great diſtractions at home, the People generally cried out for a Reformation, they deſpiſed the Clergy, and loved the new Preachers. The Prieſts were for the moſt part both very ignorant and ſcandalous in their lives: many of them had been Monks, and thoſe that were to pay them the penſions, that were reſerved to them at the deſtruction of the Monaſteries, till they ſhould be provided, took care to get them into ſome ſmall Benefice. The greateſt part of the Parſonages were Impropriated,

propriated, for they belonged to the Monasteries, and the Abbots had only granted the Incumbents, either the Vicarage, or some small Donative, and left them the Perquisites raised by Masses and other Offices. At the suppression of those Houses there was no care taken to provide the Incumbents better; so they chiefly subsisted by Trentals & other Devices, that brought them in some small relief, though the Price of them was scandalously low, for Masses went often at 2 *d.* a Groat was a great bounty. Now these saw that a Reformation of those abuses, took the Bread out of their mouths; so their Interests prevailing more with them than any thing else, they were zealously engaged against all changes: but that same Principle made them comply with every change that was made, rather than lose their Benefices: Their poverty made them run into another abuse of holding more Benefices at the same time, a Corruption of so crying and scandalous a nature, that where ever it is practised, it is sufficient to possess the People with great prejudices against the Church that is guilty of it: there being nothing more contrary to the plainest impressions of reason, than that every Man who undertakes a Cure of Souls, whom at his Ordination he has vowed, that he would instruct, feed, govern, ought to discharge that trust himself, which is the greatest and most important of all others. The Clergy were incouraged in their Opposition to all changes, by the protection

Book II. 1547. they expected from *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tonſtall*, who were Men of great reputation, as well as ſet in high places: and above all, Lady *Mary* did openly declare againſt all Changes, till the King ſhould be of Age. But on the other hand, *Cranmer*, whoſe greateſt weakneſs was his over-obſequiouſneſs to King *Henry*, being now at liberty, reſolved to proceed more vigorouſly: The Protector was firmly united to him, ſo were the young Kings Tutors, and he was as much engaged, as could be expected from ſo young a Perſon: for both his knowledge and zeal for true Religion were above his Age. Several of the Biſhops did alſo declare for a Reformation, but Dr. *Ridley* now made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was the Perſon on whom he depended moſt. *Latimer* was kept by him at *Lambeth*, and did great ſervice by his Sermons, which were very popular, but he would not return to his Biſhoprick, chooſing rather to ſerve the Church in a more diſengaged manner. Many of the Biſhops were very ignorant, and poor ſpirited Men, raiſed meerly by Court-favour, who were little concerned for any thing but their Revenues. *Cranmer* reſolved to proceed by degrees, and to open the reaſons of every advance, that was made ſo fully, that he hoped by the bleſſing of God to poſſeſs the Nation of the fitneſs of what they ſhould do, and thereby to prevent any dangerous oppoſition, that might otherwiſe be apprehended.

The

The power of the Privy Council had been much exalted in King *Henry*'s time, by Act of Parliament; and one Proviſo in it was, that the King's Council ſhould have the ſame Authority when he was under Age, that he himſelf had at full Age: ſo it was reſolved to begin with a General Viſitation of all *England*, which was divided into ſix Precincts: and two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Regiſter were appointed for every one of theſe. But before they were ſent out, there was a Letter written to all the Biſhops, giving them notice of it, ſuſpending their Juriſdiction while it laſted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that the other Clergy ſhould not preach but in their own Churches, without Licence: by which it was intended to reſtrain ſuch as were not acceptable, to their own Pariſhes, and to grant the others Licences to Preach in any Church of *England*. The greateſt difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the want of able and prudent Men, the moſt zealous were too hot and indiſcreet, and the few they had that were Eminent, were to be imployed in *London*, and the Univerſities. Therefore they intended to make thoſe as common as was poſſible, and appointed them to preach as Itinerants and Viſitors. The only thing by which the People could be univerſally inſtructed, was a Book of Homilies; ſo the twelve firſt Homilies in the Book, ſtill known by that

A Viſitation of all the Churches.

May.

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name, were compiled, in framing wch the chief design was to acquaint the People aright with the nature of the Gospel Covenant, in which there were two extreams equally dangerous: the one was of those who thought the Priests had an infallible secret of saving their souls, if they would in all things follow their directions; the other was of those who thought that if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his Merits, they could not perish, which way soever they led their lives. So the mean between these was observed, and the People were taught both to depend on the sufferings of Christ, and also to lead their lives according to the rules of the Gospel, without which they could receive no benefit by his death. Order was also given, that a Bible should be in every Church, which though it was commanded by King *Henry*, yet had not been generally obeyed: and for understanding the New Testament, *Erasmus*'s Paraphrase was put out in *English*, and appointed to be set up in every Church. His great reputation and learning, and his dying in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, made this Book to be preferred to any other, since there lay no prejudice to *Erasmus*, which would have been objected to any other Author. They renewed also all the Injunctions made by *Cromwel* in the former Reign, which after his fall were but little looked after, as those for instructing the people, for removing Images, and putting down all other customes abused to superstition;

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perſtition; for reading the Scriptures, and ſaying the Litany in *Engliſh*, for frequent Sermons and Catechiſing, for the Exemplary lives of the Clergy, and their labours in viſiting the ſick, and the other parts of their function, ſuch as reconciling differences, and exhorting their people to Charities: and all who gave Livings by Simoniacal bargains, were declared to have forfeited their right of Patronage to the King. A great charge was alſo given for the ſtrict obſervation of the Lords Day, which was appointed to be ſpent wholly in the ſervice of GOD; it not being enough to hear Maſs or Mattins in the Morning, and ſpend the reſt of the Day in drunkenneſs and quarrelling, as was commonly practiſed; but it ought to be all imployed either in the duties of Religion, or in acts of Charity, only in time of Harveſt they were allowed to work on that and other Feſtival days. Direction was alſo given, for the bidding of Prayers, in which the King, as Supreme head, the Queen, and the Kings Siſters, the Protector and Council, and all the Orders of the Kingdom were to be mentioned; they were alſo to pray for departed ſouls, that at the laſt day, *we with them might reſt both body and ſoul.* There were alſo Injunctions given for the Biſhops, that they ſhould preach four times a year in their Dioceſſes, once in their Cathedral, and thrice in any other Church, unleſs they had a good excuſe to the contrary: that their Chaplains ſhould preach often: and that

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Book II. that they ſhould give Orders to none, but thoſe that were duly qualified.

1547. Cenſures on ths Injunctions. Theſe were variouſly cenſured: The Clergy were only impowered to remove the abuſed Images, and the People were reſtrained from doing it, but this authority being put in their hands, it was thought they would be ſlow and backward in it. It had been happy for this Church, if all had agreed ſince that time, to preſs the Religious obſervation of the Lords Day, without ſtarting needleſs queſtions about the Morality of it, and the obligation of the fourth Commandment; which has occaſioned much diſpute and heat: and when one Party raiſed the obligation of that duty to a pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to ſlacken it too much: and this produced many ſharp reflections on both ſides, and has concluded in too common a neglect of that day, which inſtead of being ſo great a bond and inſtrument of Religion, as it ought to be, is become generally a day of idleneſs and looſneſs. The Corruptions of Lay-Patrons and Simoniacal Prieſts have been often complained of, but no Laws nor Proviſions have ever been able to preſerve the Church from this great miſchief; which can never be removed till Patrons look on their right to nominate one to the charge of Souls, as a truſt for which they are to render a ſevere account to God, and till Prieſts are cured of their aſpiring to that charge, and look on it with dread and great caution. The bidding of Prayers

Prayers had been the cuſtome in time of Popery; for the Preacher after he had named his Text, and ſhewed what was to be the method of his Sermon, deſired the People to joyn with him in a Prayer, for a bleſſing upon it; and told them likewiſe, whom they were to pray for, and then all the People ſaid their Beads in ſilence, and he kneeling down ſaid his, and from that this was called the bidding of the Beads. In this new direction for them, Order was given to repeat always the Kings Title of *Supream Head*, that ſo the People hearing it often mentioned, might grow better accuſtomed to it: but when inſtead of a bidding Prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be uſed, that enumeration of Titles ſeems not ſo decent a thing, nor is it now ſo neceſſary as it then was. The prayer for departed ſouls was now moderated, to be a prayer only for the conſummation of their happineſs at the laſt day; whereas in King *Henry*'s time, they prayed that God would grant them the fruition of his preſence, which implied a Purgatory. The Injunctions to the Biſhops, directing them to give Orders with great caution, pointed out that by which only a Church can be preſerved from Errors and Corruptions: for when Biſhops do eaſily upon recommendations or emendicated Titles, confer Orders, as a ſort of favour that is at their diſpoſal, the ill effects of that muſt be fatal to the Church; either by the Corruptions that thoſe

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those vicious Priests will be guilty of, or by the Scandals which are given to some good minds by their means, who are thereby disgusted at the Church for their sakes, and so are disposed to be easily drawn into those Societies that separate from it.

The War with *Scotland*.

The War with *Scotland* was now in consultation; but the Protector being apprehensive that *France* would engage in the quarrel, sent over Sir *Fr. Brian* to congratulate with the new King, to desire a confirmation of the last Peace, and to complain of the *Scots*, who had broken their Faith with the King, in the matter of the Marriage of their Queen. The *French* King refused to confirm the Treaty, till some Articles should be first explained, and so he disowned his Fathers Embassadour; and for the *Scots*, he said he could not forsake them, if they were in distress. The *English* alledged that *Scotland* was subject to *England*; but the *French* had no regard to that, and would not so much as look on the Records that were offer'd to prove it; and said they would take things as they found them, and not look back to a dispute of two hundred years old. This made the *English* Council more fearful of engaging in a War, which by all appearance, would bring a War on them from *France*. The Castle of *St. Andrews* was surrendred, and all their Pensioners in *Scotland* were not able to do them great service: The *Scots* were now much lifted up; for as *England* was under an Infant King,

King, so the Court of *France* was governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers. The *Scots* began to make Inroads on *England*, and Descents on *Ireland*. Commissioners were sent to the Borders to treat on both sides; and the Protector raised a great Army, which he resolved to command in person. But the meeting on the Borders was soon broke up, for the *Scots* had no Instructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the *English* were ordered to treat of nothing else, till that should be first agreed to. And the Records that were shewed of the Homage done by the *Scottish* Kings to the *English* had no great effect; for the *Scots* either said they were forged, or forced from some weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in *England*, as the Kings of *England* did Homage to the Crown of *France* for their Lands there. They also shewed their Records by which their Ancestors had asserted that they were free and independent of *England*. The Protector left Commissions of Lieutenancy to some of the Nobility, and devolved his own power, during his absence, on the Privy Council, and came to the Borders by the end of *August*. The *Scots* had abandoned the Passes, so that he found no difficulty in his March, and the small Forts that were in his way, were surrendred upon Summons. When the *English* advanced to *Falsid*, the *Scots* engaged with them in Parties, but lost 1300 men. The two Armies came in view; the *English* consisted

Book II. 1547. *August.*

Book II. 1547. ſiſted of fifteen thouſand Foot and three thouſand Horſe, and a Fleet under the Command of the Lord *Clinton*, ſailed along by them, as they marched near the Coaſt; the *Scottiſh* Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand, and a good train of Artillery.

The Protector ſent a Meſſage to the *Scots*, inviting them by all the Arguments that could be invented, to conſent to the Marriage; and if that would not be granted, he deſired engagements from them, that their Queen ſhould be contracted to no other perſon, at leaſt till ſhe came of age, and by the advice of the Eſtates, ſhould chooſe a Husband for herſelf. This the Protector offered to get out of the War upon Honourable terms, but the *Scottiſh* Lords thought this great Condeſcenſion was an effect of fear, and believed the Protector was ſtraitned for want of Proviſions; ſo inſtead of publiſhing this offer, they reſolved to fall upon him next day: And ſo all the return that was made, was, That if the Protector would march back without any act of Hoſtility, they would not fall upon him. One went officiouſly with the Trumpeter, and challenged the Protector, in the Earl of *Huntley*'s name, to decide the matter by their Valour; but the Protector ſaid he was to fight no way but at the head of his Army, yet the Earl of *Warwick* accepted the challenge, but *Huntley* had given no order for it. On the twentieth of *September* the Armies engaged. In the begin-

beginning of the action, a shot from the Ships killed a whole lane of men, and disordered the High-landers, so that they could not be made to keep their Ranks. The Earl of *Angus* charged bravely, but was repulsed, and the *English* broke in with such fury on the *Scots*, that they threw down their Arms and fled. Fourteen thousand were killed, fifteen hundred taken Prisoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and five hundred Gentlemen. Upon this, the Protector went on and took *Leith*, and some Islands in the *Frith*, in which he put Garrisons, and left Ships to wait on them; he sent some Ships to the mouth of *Tay* and took a Castle (*Broughty*) that commanded that River. If he had followed this blow, and gone forward to *Striveling*, to which the Governour, with the small remainders of his Army, had retired, and where the Queen was, it is probable, in the consternation in which they were, he might have taken that place, and so have made an end of the War. But the party his Brother was making at Court, gave him such an Alarm, that he returned before he had ended his business: And the *Scots* having sent a Message desiring a Treaty, which they did only to gain time, he ordered them to send their Commissioners to *Berwick*, and so marched back: He took in all the Castles in *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and left Garrisons in them, and made the Gentry swear to be true to the King, and to promote the Marriage. He entred into

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1547. The Battel of *Musselburgh*.

Scotch

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Scotch ground the second of *September*, and returned to *England* on the twenty ninth, with the loss only of sixty men, and brought with him a great deal of Artillery, and many Prisoners: This success did raise his reputation very high, and if he had now made an end of the War, it had, no doubt, establish'd him in his authority. The *Scots* sent no Commissioners to *Berwick*, but instead of that, they sent some to *France*, to offer their Queen to the Dauphin, and to cast themselves on the protection of that Crown; and so the Earl of *Warwick*, whom the Protector left to treat with them, returned back. The Protector, upon this great success, summoned a Parliament, to get himself established in his power.

The success of the Visitation.

The Visitors had now ended the Visitation, and all had submitted to them, and great Inferences were made from this, that on the same day on which the Images were burnt in *London*, their Army obtained that great Victory in *Scotland*. But all sides are apt to build much on Providence, when it is favourable to them, and yet they will not allow the Argument when it turns against them. *Bonner* at first protested that he would obey the Injunctions, if they were not contrary to the Laws of God, and the Ordinances of the Church; but being called before the Council, he retracted that, and asked Pardon; yet for giving terrour to others, he was for some time put in Prison upon it. *Gardiner* wrote

wrote to one of the Visitors, before they came to *Winchester*, that he could not receive the Homilies; and if he must either quit his Bishoprick, or sin against his Conscience, he resolved to chuse the former: Upon this, he was called before the Council, and required to receive the Book of Homilies; but he excepted to one of them, that taught that Charity did not justifie, contrary to the Book set out by the late King, confirmed in Parliament: He also complained of many things in *Erasmus*'s Paraphrase: And being pressed to declare whether he would obey the Injunctions or not, he refused to promise it, and so was sent to the Fleet. *Cranmer* treated in private with him, and they argued much about Justification. *Gardiner* thought the Sacraments justified, and that Charity justified as well as Faith. *Cranmer* thought that only the merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by Faith, which could not be without Charity; so the question turned much on a different way of explaining the same thing. *Gardiner* objected many things to *Erasmus*'s Book, particularly to some passages contrary to the power of Princes; it was answered, That Book was not chosen, as having no faults, but as the best they knew for clearing the difficulties in Scripture. *Cranmer* offered to him, that if he would concur with them, he should be brought to be one of the Privy Council; but he did not comply in this so readily as he ordinarily did to such

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offers. Upon the Protectors return, he wrote to him, complaining of the Councils proceedings in his absence; and after he had given his objections to the Injunctions, he excepted to this, that they were contrary to Law, and argued from many precedents, that the Kings authority could not be raised so high; and that though *Cromwel* and others endeavoured to perswade the late King, that he might govern as the *Roman* Emperours did, and that his Will ought to be his Law; yet he was of another opinion, and thought that it was much better to make the Law the Kings Will. He complained also that he was hardly used, that he had neither Servants, Physicians nor Chaplains, allowed to wait on him; and that though he had a Writ of Summons, he was not suffered to come to the Parliament, which he said, might bring a Nullity on all their Proceedings. But he lay in Prison till the Act of General Pardon past in Parliament, set him at liberty. Many blamed the severity of these proceedings as contrary both to Law and Equity, and said that all people, even those who complained most of arbitrary power, were apt to usurp it when they were in authority: And some thought the delivering the doctrine of Justification in such nice terms was not sutable to the plain simplicity of the Christian Religion. Lady *Mary* was so alarmed at these proceedings, that she wrote to the Protector, that such changes were contrary to the honour due to her Fathers Memory, and it was against

againſt their duty to the King to enter upon ſuch points, and endanger the publick Peace before he was of Age. To which he wrote anſwer, That her Father had died before he could finiſh the good things he had intended concerning Religion; and had expreſſed his regret both before himſelf and many others, that he left things in ſo unſetled a ſtate; and aſſured her that nothing ſhould be done but what would turn to the Glory of God, and the Kings Honour: He imputed her Writing to the importunity of others rather than to her ſelf, and deſired her to conſider the matter better with an humble Spirit and the aſſiſtance of the Grace of God. Book II. 1547.

The Parliament was opened the fourth of *November*, and the Protector was by Patent authorized to ſit under the Cloath of State, on the Right hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Priviledges that any Unkle of the Crown, either by Father or Mothers ſide, ever had. *Rich* was made Lord Chancellour. The firſt Act that paſt, five Biſhops only diſſenting, was, "A Repeal of all Statutes that had "made any thing Treaſon or Felony in "the late Reign, which was not ſo be- "fore, and of the ſix Articles, and the "authority given to the Kings Procla- "mations, as alſo of the Acts againſt *Lol- "lards*. All who deni'd the Kings Supremacy, "or aſſerted the Popes, for the firſt of- "fence were to forfeit their goods, for the "ſecond were to be in a *Præmunire*, and "were

A Parliament meets.

An Act of Repeal.

Book II. 1547. "were to be attainted of Treason for the "third. But if any intended to deprive "the King of his Estate or Title, that "was made Treason: none were to be accused of Words but within a month after "they were spoken; they also repealed the "power that the King had of annulling all "Laws made, till he was twenty four years "of age, and restrained it only to an annulling them for the time to come, but "that it should not be of force for the declaring them null from the beginning.

An Act about the Sacrament.

Another Act past with the same dissent, for the Communion in both kinds, and that the people should always communicate with the Priest, and by it irreverence to the Sacrament was condemned under severe penalties. Christ had instituted the Sacrament in both kinds, and S. *Paul* mentions both. In the Primitive Church that custome was universally observed, but upon the belief of Transubstantiation, the reserving and carrying about the Sacrament were brought in; this made them first endeavour to perswade the World that the Cup was not necessary, for Wine could neither keep, nor be carried about conveniently; but it was done by degrees, the Bread was for some time given dipt, as it is yet in the *Greek* Church: but it being believed that Christ was entirely under either kind, and in every crumb, the Council of *Constance* took the Cup from the Laity; yet the *Bohemians* could not be brought to submit to it, so every where the use of the Cup

Cup was one of the first things that was insisted on by those who demanded a Reformation. At first all that were present did communicate; and censures past on such as did it not: And none were denied the Sacrament but Penitents, who were made to withdraw during the Action. But as the devotion of the World slackned, the people were still exhorted to continue their Oblations, and come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it; and were made believe, that the Priest received it in their stead: The name *Sacrifice* given to it, as being a holy Oblation, was so far improved, that the World came to look on the Priests officiating, as a Sacrifice for the dead and living: From hence followed an infinite variety of Masses for all the accidents of humane life; and that was the chief part of the Priests trade, but it occasioned many unseemly jests concerning it, which were restrained by the same Act that put these down.

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Another Act past without any dissent, *An Act concerning the nomination of Bishops.*

"That the *Conge d' elire*, and the Election "pursuant to it, being but a shadow, since "the person was named by the King, should "cease for the future, and that Bishops "should be named by the Kings Letters "Patents, and thereupon be consecrated; "and should hold their Courts in the Kings "name, and not in their own, excepting "only the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*'s "Court: And they were to use the Kings "Seal in all their Writings, except in Pre-

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"sentations, Collations, and Letters of "Orders, in which they might use their "own Seals. The Apostles chose Bishops and Pastors by an extraordinary gift of discerning Spirits, and proposed them to the approbation of the people; yet they left no rules to make that necessary: In the times of Persecution, the Clergy being maintained by the Oblations of the people, they were chosen by them. But when the Emperours became Christians, the Town Councils and eminent men took the Elections out of the hands of the Rabble: And the Tumults in popular Elections were such, that it was necessary to regulate them. In some places the Clergy, and in others the Bishops of the Province made the choice. The Emperours reserved the Confirmation of the Elections in the great Sees to themselves. But when *Charles* the Great annexed great Territories and Regalities to Bishopricks, a great change followed thereupon: Church-men were corrupted by this undue greatness, and came to depend on the humours of those Princes to whom they owed this great encrease of their wealth. Princes named them, and invested them in their Sees: But the Popes intended to separate the Ecclesiastical State from all subjection to Secular Princes, and to make themselves the heads of that State, at first they pretended to restore the freedom of Elections; but these were now ingrossed in a few hands, for only the Chapters chose; the

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The Popes had granted thirty years before this to the King of *France*, the nomination to all the Bishopricks in that Kingdome; so the King of *Englands* assuming it was no new thing, and the way of Elections, as King *Henry* had setled it, seemed to be but a Mockery: so this change was not much condemned. The Ecclesiastical Courts were the Concessions of Princes, in which, Trials concerning Marriages, Wills and Tithes, depended, so the holding those Courts in the Kings name, was no Invasion on the Spiritual Function; since all that concerned Orders, was to be done still in the Bishops name, only Excommunication was still left as the Censure of those Courts, which being a Spiritual Censure, ought to have been reserved to the Bishop, to be proceeded in by him only with the assistance of his Clergy: and this fatal errour then committed, has not yet met with an effectual regulation.

An Act against Vagabonds.

Another Act was made against idle Vagabonds, that they should be made slaves for two years, by any that should seize on them: This was chiefly designed against some Vagrant Monks, as appears by the Proviso's in the Act, for they went about the Countrey, infusing in the People a dislike of the Government. The severity of this Act made that the *English* Nation which naturally abhors slavery, did not care to execute it: and this made that the other Proviso's, for supplying those that were truly indigent, and were willing to be

Book II. ployed, had no effect. But as no Nation has better, and more merciful Laws, for the supply of the Poor, so the fond pity that 1547. many shew to the common Beggars, which no Laws have been able to restrain, makes that a sort of dissolute and idle Beggars intercept much of that Charity, which should go to the relief of those, that are indeed the only proper objects of it. After this came the Act for giving the King all those Chantries, which the late King had not seized on by Vertue of the Grant made to him of them. *Cranmer* opposed this much: for the poverty of the Clergy was such that the State of Learning and Religion was like to suffer much, if it should not be relieved: and yet he saw no probable Fond for that, but the preserving these, till the King should come to be at Age; and allow the selling them, for buying in, of at least such a share of the Impropriations, as might afford some more comfortable subsistence to the Clergy: yet though he, and seven other Bishops dissented, it was past: After all other Acts, a General Pardon, but clogged with some Exceptions, came last: some Acts were proposed, but not past; one was for the free use of the Scriptures, others were for a Court of Chancery in Ecclesiastical Causes, for Residence, and for a Reformation of the Courts of Common Law. The Convocation sat at the same time; and moved that a Commission begun in the late Reign of thirty two Persons for reforming the Ecclesiastical Laws

An Act for dissolving the Chantries.

The Convocation sits.

Laws might be revived, and that the inferiour Clergy might be admitted to sit in the House of Commons, for which they alledged a Clause in the Bishops Writ and Ancient Custome; and since some Prelates had under the former Reign begun to alter the form of the Service of the Church, they desired it might be brought to perfection: and that some care might be had of supplying the poor Clergy, and relieving them from the Taxes that lay on them. This concerning the inferiour Clergy's sitting in the House of Commons, was the subject of some debate, and was again set on foot both under Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, but to no effect. Some pretended that they always sat in the House of Commons, till the submission made in the former Reign, upon the suit of the *Præmunire*: but that cannot be true, since in this Convocation, 17. years after that, in which many that had been in the former were present, no such thing was alledged. It is not clear who those Proctors of the Clergy that sat in Parliament, were: if they were the Bishops assistants, it is more proper to think they sat in the House of Lords. No mention is made of them, as having a share in the Legislative Authority, in our Records, except in the 21. of *Richard* the 2*d*. In which, mention is made, both of the Commons, the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and the Proctors of the Clergy concurring to the Acts then made: which makes it seem most probable that they

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were

Book II. 1547. were the Clerks of the lower House of Convocation. When the Parliament met antiently all in one Body, the inferiour Clergy had their Writs, and came to it with the other Freeholders, but when the two Houses were separated, the Clergy became also a distinct body, and gave their own Subsidies, and medled in all the concerns, and represented all the grievances of the Church. But now by the Act made upon the submission of the Clergy in the last Reign, their power was reduced almost to nothing: so they thought it reasonable to desire, that either they might have their Representatives in the House of Commons, or at least, that matters of Religion should not pass without the assent of the Clergy. But the raising the Ecclesiastical authority too high in former times, made this turn, that it was now depressed as much below its just limits, as it was before exalted above them: as commonly one extreme produces another.

It was resolved that some Bishops and Divines should be sent to *Windsor*, to finish some Reformations in the publick Offices; for the whole lower House of Convocation, without a contradictory Vote, agreed to the Bill about the Sacrament. But it is not known what opposition it met with in the Upper House. A Proposition being also set on foot concerning the lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, thirty five subscribed to the affirmative,

tive, and only fourteen held the Negative. Book II.

And thus ended this Session, both of Parliament and Convocation. And the Protector being now established in his power, and received by a Parliament, without contradiction, took out a new Commission, in which, besides his former authority, he was impowered to substitute one in his room, during his absence. 1547.

In *Germany* the Princes of the Smalcaldick League were quite ruined; the Duke of *Saxe* was defeated, and taken Prisoner; and used with great severity and scorn, which he bare with an invincible greatness of mind. The Landgrave was perswaded to submit, and had assurances of liberty given him; but by a trick unbecoming the greatness of the Emperour, he was seized on and kept Prisoner, contrary to faith given: upon this all the Princes and Towns, except *Magdeburg* and *Breme*, submitted and purchased their pardon, at what terms the Conquerour was pleased to impose. The Bishop and Elector of *Colen*, withdrew peaceably to a retirement, in which, after four years, he died: and now all *Germany* was at the Emperours mercy. Some Cathedrals, as that at *Auxburg*, were again restored to the Bishops, and Mass was said in them. A Diet was also held, in which the Emperor obtain'd a Decree to pass, by which *matters* of Religion were referred wholly to his care. The Pope, instead of rejoycing at this blow The affairs of *Germany*.

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blow given the *Lutherans*, was much troubled at it: for the Emperour had now in one Year made an end of a War, which he hoped would have Imbroiled him his whole life; so that *Italy* was now more at his mercy than ever: and it seemed the Emperour intended to inlarge his Conquests there, for the Pope's Natural Son being killed by a Conspiracy, the Governour of *Milan* seized on *Placentia*, which gave the Pope some jealousie, as if the Emperour had been privy to the design against his Son. The Emperour's Ambassadors were also very uneasie to the Legates at *Trent*, and prest a Reformation of abuses, and endeavoured to restrain them from proceeding in points of doctrine: so they took hold of the first pretence they had by the death of one that seemed to have some symptomes of the Plague, and removed it to *Bologna*. By this all the advantages the Emperour had from the Promises which the Protestants made, to submit to a free General Council assembled in *Germany*, were defeated: and it was thought a strange turn of Divine Providence, that when the extirpation of *Lutheranism* was so near being effected, a stop was put to it by that which of all things was least to be apprehended: since it might have been expected that the perfecting such a design would have made the Pope and the Emperor friends, though there had been ever so many other grounds of difference between them. So unusual a thing made

made the favourers of the Reformation aſcribe it to the immediate care that Heaven had of that work, now when all the humane ſupports of it were gone. Upon this fatal revolution of affairs there, many *Germans*, and *Italians* that had retired to *Germany*, came over to *England*: *Peter Martyr* and *Bernardinus Ochinus* came over firſt, *Bucer* and *Fagius* followed. They were invited over by *Cranmer*, who entertained them at *Lambeth*, till they were provided. *Martyr* was ſent to *Oxford*, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* to *Cambridge*; but the latter dyed ſoon after. There were ſome differences between the *French* and *Engliſh*, concerning ſome new Forts, which were made about *Bulloigne*, on both ſides, yet a Truce was agreed on, for the Protector had no mind to engage in a War with *France*.

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral.

He had a new trouble raiſed up in his own Family, by the Ambition of his Brother, who thought that being the Kings Uncle, as well as his Brother was, he ought to have a larger ſhare of the Government. He had made addreſſes to Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings ſiſter, but finding no hopes of ſucceſs, he made applications to the Queen Dowager, who married him a little undecently, for it was afterwards objected to him, that he married her ſo ſoon after the Kings death, that if ſhe had conceived with Child immediately after the marriage, it might have been doubtful whether it was by the late King, or not: yet

Book II. yet the marriage was for ſome time concealed, and the Admiral moved the King and his Siſters, to write to the Queen, 1547. to accept him for her Husband: The Kings Siſters excuſed themſelves, that it was not decent for them to interpoſe in ſuch a matter, but the young King was more eaſie: ſo upon his Letter, the Queen publiſhed her marriage. The Admiral being now poſſeſſed of much Wealth, and the King coming often to the Queens Lodgings, he endeavoured to gain him, and all that were about him, and furniſhed the King often with Money. His deſign was, that whereas in former times, when Infant-Kings had two Uncles, one was Governour of his Perſon, and another was Protector of the Realm; ſo now theſe two Truſts might be divided, and that he might be made Governour of the Kings Perſon. This is the true account of the breach between thoſe Brothers, for the ſtory of the quarrel between their Wives about precedence, ſeems to be an ill-grounded fiction: for there was no pretence of a competition between the Queen Dowager and the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*; but the latter being a high Woman, might have perhaps inflamed her Husbands reſentments, over whom ſhe had an abſolute power, which gave the riſe to that ſtory. The Protector was at firſt very eaſie to be reconciled to his Brother, but after the many provocations he received from him, he threw off

off nature too much. When he was in *Scotland*, the Admiral began to take advantage upon that to make a party: And the good advices that were given him by *Paget*, to look on thoſe as the common Enemies of their Family, who were making this breach between them, had no effect to cure a mind hurried on by Ambition. It was the advertiſement that was ſent him of this, that made the Protector leave *Scotland* before he had finiſhed his buſineſs there. During the Seſſion of Parliament, the Admiral prevailed with the King to write with his own hand a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, to make him the Governour of his perſon. When the Admiral was making Friends in order to this, it came to his Brothers ears, before he had made any publick uſe of it: So he employed ſome to divert him from it, but with no ſucceſs. Upon that, he was ſent for to appear before the Council, but he refuſed to come; yet they having threatned to turn him out of all his places, and to ſend him to the *Tower*, he ſubmitted, and the Brothers were reconciled: But the Admiral continued his ſecret practices ſtill with thoſe about the King. Book II. 1547.

Gardiner being included in the Act of Pardon, was ſet at liberty: He promiſed to receive and obey the Injunctions, only he excepted to the Homily of Juſtification; yet he complied in that likewiſe: but it was viſible that in his heart he abhorred all their proceedings, though he outwardly con- 1548.

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1548. The M. of *Northamptons* Divorce.

conformed. The Second Marriage of the M. of *Northampton* was tried at this time, for his first Wife being convict of Adultery, he and she were separated. And he moved in the end of the former Reign, that he might be suffered to marry again; so a Commission was then granted, and was renewed in this Reign to some Delegates to examine what relief might be given to the innocent person in such a case. But this being new, and *Cranmer* proceeding in it with his usual exactness, which is often accompanied with slowness, the Marquess became impatient, and married a second Wife: Upon this, the Council ordered them to be parted till the Delegates should give sentence. The Arguments for the second Marriage were these, Christ had condemned Divorces for other cases, but excepted that of Adultery. A Separation from Bed and Board, and the Marriage bond standing, was contrary to many places of Scripture, that mention the end of Marriage. S. *Paul* discharges the married person, if the other wilfully deserted him, much more will it follow in the case of Adultery. And though St. *Paul* says the Wife is tyed to her Husband as long as he liveth, that is only to be understood of a Husband that continued to be one; but that relation ceased by Adultery. The Fathers differed in their opinions in this matter, some allowed Marriage upon Divorce to the Husband, but denied it to the Wife; others allowed it to both. So *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius* and *Basil*; *Jerome* also justified *Fabiola* that

that had done it. *Chryſoſtome* and *Chromatius* allowed a ſecond Marriage. St. *Auſtin* was doubtful about it. The *Roman* Emperours allowed by their Laws, even after they became Chriſtians, Divorce, and a ſecond Marriage, both to Husbands and Wives, upon many other Reaſons beſides Adultery; as for procuring Abortions, treating for another Marriage, being guilty of Treaſon, or a Wifes going to Plays without her Husbands leave. Nor did the Fathers in thoſe times complain of thoſe Laws: This was alſo allowed by the Canons upon ſeveral occaſions; but after the State of Cœlibate came to be magnified out of meaſure, ſecond Marriages were more generally condemned: And this was heightned when Marriage was lookt on as a Sacrament. Yet though no Divorces were allowed in the Church, the Canoniſts found out many ſhifts for annulling Marriages from the beginning, to thoſe that could pay well for them. All theſe things being conſidered, the Delegates gave ſentence, confirming the ſecond Marriage, and diſſolving the firſt.

Some Ceremonies abrogated.

Candlemaſs and *Lent* were now approaching, ſo the Clergy and People were much divided with relation to the Ceremonies uſual at thoſe times. By ſome Injunctions in K. *Henry*'s Reign it had been declared, that Faſting in *Lent* was only binding by a poſitive Law. Wakes and Plough Moondays were alſo ſuppreſſed, and hints were given that other cuſtomes which were much abuſed, ſhould

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be ſhortly put down. The groſs Rabble loved theſe things, as matters of diverſion, and thought Divine Worſhip without them would be but a dull buſineſs. But others lookt on theſe as Relicts of Heatheniſm, ſince the *Gentiles* worſhipped their Gods with ſuch Feſtivities, and thought they did not become the gravity and ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Religion. *Cranmer* upon this procured an Order of Council againſt the carrying of Candles on *Candlemaſs* day, of Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*; which was directed to *Bonner* to be intimated to the Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury*, and was executed by him. But a Proclamation followed againſt all that ſhould make changes without Authority: The creeping to the Croſs and taking Holy Bread and Water, were by it put down, and power was given to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* to certifie, in the Kings name, what Ceremonies ſhould be afterwards laid aſide; and none were to preach out of their own Pariſhes without licence from the King or the Viſitors, the Arch-biſhop or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs. Some queſtioned the Councils power to make ſuch Orders, the Act that gave authority to their Proclamations being repealed; but it was ſaid the Kings Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical matters might well juſtifie their making ſuch Rules. Soon after this, a General Order followed for a removal of all Images out of Churches: There were every where great conteſts

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whether the Images had been abused to Superstition or not. Some thought the consecration of them was an abuse common to them all. Those also that represented the Trinity, as a man with three faces in one head, or as an old man with a young man before him, and a Dove over his head; and some where the Blessed Virgin was represented as assumed into it, gave so great scandal, that it was no wonder, if men, as they grew to be better enlightned, could no longer endure them. The only occasion given to censure in this order, was, that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the Kings use. A Letter was at that time writ to all Preachers, requiring them to exhort the people to amend their lives, and forsake Superstition; but for things not yet changed, to bear with them, and not to run before those whom they should obey. Some hot men condemned this temper, as savouring too much of carnal Policy; but it was said, that though the Apostles by the gift of Miracles, had sufficient means to convince the World of their authority; Yet they did not all at once change the customes of the *Mosaical* Law, but proceeded by degrees; and Christ forbid the pulling up the Tares, lest good Wheat should be pulled up with them; so it was fit to wean people by degrees from their former superstition, and not to run too fast.

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1548. *A new Office for the Communion.*

Eighteen Bishops, and some Divines, were now imployed to examine the Offices of the Church, to see which of them needed amendment. They began with the Eucharist: They proceeded in the same manner that was used in the former Reign. For every one gave in his opinion in Writing, in answer to the questions that were put to them. Some of these are still preserved, which were concerning the Priests sole communicating, and Masses satisfactory for the dead, the Mass in an unknown tongue, the hanging it up and exposing it and the Sacrifice that was made in it. In most of those Papers it appears that the greatest part of the Bishops were still leavened with the old superstition, at least to some degree. It was clearly found that the plain Institution of the Sacrament was was much vitiated, with a mixture of many Heathenish Rites and Pomps, on design to raise the credit of the Priests, in whose hands that great performance was lodged. This was at first done to draw over the Heathens by those splendid Rites to Christianity; but Superstition once begun, has no bounds nor measures; and ignorance and barbarity encreasing in the darker ages, there was no regard had to any thing in Religion, but as it was set off with much Pageantry: And the belief of the Corporal presence raised this to a great height. The Office was in an unknown tongue, all the Vessels and Garments belonging to it, were consecrated with much devotion,

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a great part of the Service was secret, to make it look like a wonderful charm; the Consecration it self was to be said very softly, for words that were not to be heard, agreed best with a change that was not to be seen: The many Gesticulations and the magnificent Processions all tended to raise this Pageantry higher. Masses were also said for all the turns and affairs of humane life. Trentals, a custome of having thirty Masses a year on the chief Festivities for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, was that which brought the Priests most Money, for these were thought Gods best days, in which access was easier to him. On Saints days, in the Mass it was prayed, that by the Saints Intercession, the Sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger Indulgence, which could not be easily explained, if the Sacrifice was the death of Christ; besides a numberless variety of other Rites, so many of the Relicts of Heathenism were made use of for the corrupting of the holiest institution of the Christian Religion. The first step that was now made, was a new Office for the Communion, that is, the distribution of the Sacrament, for the Office of Consecration was not at this time touched. It differs very little from what is still used. In the Exhortation, Auricular Confession to a Priest is left free to be done or omitted, and all were required not to judge one another in that matter. There was also a denunciation made requiring

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impenitent sinners to withdraw. The Bread was to be still of the same form that had been formerly used. In the distribution it was said, *The Body of our Lord*, &c. *preserve thy Body*, and *The Blood of our Lord*, &c. *preserve thy Soul*. This was Printed with a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it with such Reverence and Uniformity, as might encourage the King to proceed further, and not to run to other things before the King gave direction, assuring the people of his earnest zeal to set forth Godly Orders; and therefore it was hoped they would tarry for it: The Books were sent over *England*, and the Clergy were appointed to give the Communion next *Easter* according to them.

Auricular Confession examined.

Many were much offended to find Confession left indifferent, so this matter was examined. Christ gave his Apostles a power of binding and loosing, and S. *James* commanded all to confess their faults to one another. In the Primitive Church all that denied the Faith, or otherwise gave scandal, were separated from the Communion, and not admitted to it till they made publick Confession: And according to the degrees of their sins, the time and degrees of publick Penitence, and their Separation were proportioned: Which was the chief subject of the Consultations of the Councils in the fourth and fifth Centuries. For secret sins the people lay under no obligation to confess, but they went often to their Priests for direction, even for these.

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Near the end of the fifth Century they began to have ſecret Penances and Confeſſions as well as publick: But in the ſeventh Century this became the general practice. In the eighth Century the Commutation of Penance for Money, or other Services done the Church, was brought in. Then the Holy Wars and Pilgrimages came to be magnified: Croiſadoes againſt Hereticks, or Princes depoſed by the Pope, were ſet up inſtead of all other Penances: Prieſts alſo managed Confeſſion and Abſolution, ſo as to enter into all mens ſecrets, and to govern their Conſciences by them; but they becoming very ignorant, and not ſo aſſociated as to be governed by Orders that might be ſent them from *Rome*, the Friers were every where imployed to hear Confeſſions, and many reſerved Caſes were made, in which the Pope only gave Abſolution; theſe were truſted to them, and they had the Trade of Indulgences put in their hands, which they managed with as much confidence as Mountebanks uſed in ſelling their Medicines, with this advantage, that the ineffectualneſs of their devices was not ſo eaſily diſcovered, for the people believed all that the Prieſts told them. In this they grew to ſuch a pitch of confidence, that for ſaying ſome Collects, Indulgences for years, and for Hundreds, Thouſands, yea, a Million of years; were granted; ſo cheap a thing was Heaven made. This trade was now thrown out of the Church, and private

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Book II. 1548. Confession was declared indifferent: But it was much censured that no Rules for Publick Penance were set up at this time, but what were corrupted by the Canonists. The people did not think a Declarative Absolution sufficient, and thought it surer work when a Priest said, *I Absolve thee*, though that was but a late Invention. Others censured the words of distribution, by which the Bread was appropriated to the Body, and the Cup to the Soul: And this was soon after amended, only some words relating to it are still in the Collect, *We do not presume.*

Gardiner is imprisoned. The affairs of State took up the Council, as much as the matters of Religion imployed the Bishops, the War with *Scotland* grew chargeable, and was supported from *France*, but the sale of the Chantry Lands brought the Council in some Money. *Gardiner* was brought into new trouble, many complaints were made of him, that he disparaged the Preachers sent with the Kings licence into his Dioceſs, and that he secretly opposed all Reformation. So being brought before the Council, he denied most of the things objected to him, and offered to explain himself openly in a Sermon before the King. The Protector prest him not to meddle in matters, not yet determined, particularly the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and to assert the Kings power, though he was under age, and the Authority of the Council: for the

Clergy

Clergy began generally to say, that though they acknowledged the Kings Supremacy; yet they would not yield it to the Council, and seemed to place it in some extraordinary grace conferred on the King by the Anointing in the Coronation. So the Protector desired *Gardiner* to declare himself in those points; but when he came to preach on St. *Peters* day, he inveighed against the *Popes* Supremacy, and asserted the Kings, but said nothing of the Council, nor the Kings power under Age: he also justified the suppression of Monasteries and Chantries, and the putting down Masses satisfactory, as also the removing of Images, the Sacrament in both kinds, and the new Order for the Communion; but did largely assert the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament: Upon which there was a noise raised by hot Men of both sides, during the Sermon, and this was said to be a stirring of sedition, and upon that he was sent to the *Tower*. This way of proceeding was thought contrary both to Law and Justice, and as all violent courses do, this rather weakned than strengthned those that were most concerned in it. *Cranmer* did at this time set out a large Catechism, which he dedicated to the King. He insisted much on shewing, that Idolatry had been committed in the use of Images: he asserted the Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests, and their authority of Absolving sinners, and expressed great Zeal for setting up Penitentiary

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tentiary Canons, and exhorted the People to discover the state of their Souls to their Pastors: from this it appears, that he had changed the opinions, he formerly held, against the Divine Institution of the Ecclesiastical Offices.

A new Liturgy composed.

But now a more general Reformation of the whole Liturgy was under consideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worship of God; and be no more cantoned to the several Uses of *Sarum*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford* and *Bangor*. Anciently the Liturgies were short, and had few Ceremonies in them: Every Bishop had one for his own Dioceſs: but in the *African* Churches, they began first to put them into a more Regular Form. *Gregory* the Great, labour'd much in this; yet he left *Austin* the Monk to his liberty, either to use the *Roman* or *French* forms in *England*, as he found they were like to tend most to Edification. Great Additions were made in every Age, for the private Devotions of some that were reputed Saints, were added to the Publick offices: and mysterious significations were invented for every new Rite, which was the chief study of some Ages: and all was swelled up to a vast bulk. It was not then thought on, that praying by the spirit, consisted in the inventing new words, and uttering them with warmth; and it seemed too great a subjection of the People to their Priests, that they should make them joyn with them in all their

their heats in prayer: and would have proved as great a resignation of their devotion to them, as the former superstition had made of their faith. It was then resolved to have a Liturgy, and to bring the Worship to a fit mean, between the Pomp of Superstition, and naked flatness. They resolved to change nothing, meerly in opposition to received practices, but rather in Imitation of what Christ did, in the Institution of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, that did consist of Rites used among the *Jews*, but blessed by him to higher purposes, to comply with what had been formerly in use, as much as was possible thereby to gain the People. All the Consecrations of Water, Salt, *&c.* in the Church of *Rome*, lookt like the remainders of Heathenism, and were laid aside: by these Devils being adjured, and a Divine vertue supposed to be in them, the People came to think, that by such observances, they might be sure of Heaven. The Absolutions, by which, upon the account of the Merits of the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, the sprinklings of Water, Fastings and Pilgrimages, with many other things, sins were pardoned, as well as on the account of the Passion of Christ, and the Absolution given to dead bodies, lookt like gross Impostures, tending to make the World think, that besides the painful way to Heaven, in a course of true Holiness, the Priests had secrets in their hands, of carrying People

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ple thither in another Method, and on eaſier terms; and this drew in the People to purchaſe their favour, eſpecially when they were dying: ſo that, as their fears were then heightned, there was no other way left them, in the concluſion of an ill life, to dye with any good hopes, but as they bargained for them with their Prieſts; therefore all this was now caſt out. It was reſolved to have the whole worſhip in the Vulgar Tongue, upon which Saint *Paul* has copiouſly enlarged himſelf: and all Nations, as they were converted to Chriſtianity, had their Offices in their Vulgar Tongue; but of late, it had been pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that the worſhip ſhould be every where in the ſame Language; though the People were hardly uſed, when for the ſake of ſome Vagrant Prieſts, that might come from foreign Parts, they were kept from knowing what was ſaid in the worſhip of God. It was pretended, that *Pilate* having ordered the Inſcription on the Croſs, in *Greek*, *Latine*, and *Hebrew*; theſe three Languages were ſanctified; but it is not eaſie to underſtand what authority he had, for conferring ſuch a priviledge on them. But the keeping all in an Unknown Tongue, preſerved in dark Ages the eſteem of their Offices, in which there were ſuch Prayers and Hymns, and ſuch Leſſons, that if the People had underſtood them, they muſt have given great ſcandal:

dal: In many Prayers the pardon of sins, and the grace of God were asked, in such a stile, of the Saints, as if these had been wholly at their disposal, and as if they had been more merciful than God, or Christ. In former times all that did officiate, were peculiarly habited, and all their Garments were blessed: and these were considered, as a part of the train of the Mass; but on the other hand, white had been the colour of the Priests Vestments, under the *Mosaical* Law, and was early brought into the Christian Churches: it was a proper expression of Innocence, and it was fit that the worship of God should be in a decent habit. So it was continued, and since the Sacrifices offered to Idols, were not thereby according to Saint *Paul*, of their own nature polluted, and every Creature of God was good, it was thought, notwithstanding the former abuse, most reasonable to use these Garments still. Book II. 1548.

The Morning and Evening Prayers were put almost in the same Method, in which we use them still, only there was no Confession nor Absolution. In the Office for the Communion, there was a Commemoration of thanksgiving, for the Blessed Virgin, and all departed Saints, and they were commended to God's mercy and peace. In the Consecration, the use of crossing the Elements was retained, but there was no Elevation, which was at first used as an historical Rite, to shew Christ's

The new Offices.

Book II. 1548.

Christ's being lifted up on the Cross; but was afterwards done, to call on the People to adore it. No stamp was to be on the Bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be put in the Peoples mouths by the Priests, though it had been anciently put in their hands. Some in the *Greek* Church began to take it in Spoons of Gold, others in a Linnen cloth, called their *Dominical*: but after the Corporal presence was received, the People were not suffered to touch it, and the Priests Thumbs and Fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualifie them for that Contact. In Baptism, the Child's head and breast was croft, and an adjuration was made of the Devil, to depart from him: Children were to be thrice dipt, or in case of weakness, water was to be sprinkled on their faces, and then they were to be anointed. The sick might also be anointed, if they desired it. At Funerals, the departed Soul was recommended to God's mercy.

Private Communion.

The Sacraments were formerly believed, of such vertue, that they conferred Grace, by the very receiving them, *ex opere operato:* and so Women baptized. The Ancients did send portions of the Eucharist to the sick, but without any Pomp: which came in, when the Corporal Presence was believed. But instead of that, it was now appointed, that the Sacraments should be ministred to the sick, and therefore in case of weakness, Children might be baptized

tized in Houſes; though it was more ſuitable to the deſign of Baptiſm, which was the admiſſion of a new Member to the Church, to do it before the whole Congregation: But this, which was a proviſion for weakneſs, is become ſince a mark of Vanity, and a piece of affected ſtate. It was alſo appointed, that the Sacrament ſhould be given to the ſick, and not to be ſent from the Church, but Conſecrated by their Bed-ſides: ſince Chriſt had ſaid, that where two or three were aſſembled, in his name, he would be in the midſt of them. But it is too groſs a Relique of the worſt part of Popery, if any imagine, that after an ill life, ſome ſudden ſorrow for ſin, with a haſty Abſolution, and the Sacrament will be a paſſeport to Heaven, ſince the mercies of God in Chriſt are offered in the Goſpel, only to thoſe who truly believe, ſincerely repent, and do change the courſe of their Lives. Book II. 1548.

The Liturgy thus compiled, was publiſhed with a Preface, concerning Ceremonies: the ſame that is ſtill in the Common-Prayer-Book, written with extraordinary judgment and temper.

When the Book came into all Mens hands, ſeveral things were cenſured: as particularly the frequent uſe of the Croſs and Anointing. The former began to be uſed, as a badge of a crucified Saviour: but the ſuperſtition of it was ſo much advanced, that *Latria* was given to the Croſier. The uſing it was alſo believed to

Cenſures paſt on the Common-prayer-Book.

Book II. 1548.

to have a Virtue for driving away evil spirits, and preserving one from dangers: so that a Sacramental vertue was affixed to it, which could not be done, since there is no Institution for it in Scripture: but the using it as a Ceremony, expressing the believing in a crucified Saviour, could import no superstition, since Ceremonies, that only express our duty or profession, may be used as well as words, these being signs, as the other are sounds, that express our thoughts. The use of Oyl in Confirmation, and receiving Penitents, was early brought into the Church: but it was not applied to the sick, till the 10*th*. Century; for the Ancients did not understand those words of Saint *James*, to relate to it, but to the extraordinary gift of healing, then in the Church.

All Preaching was for some time restrained.

While these changes were under Consideration, there were great heats every where, and a great contradiction among the Pulpits; some commending all the old customes, and others inveighing as much against them: so the power of granting Licences to preach, was taken from the Bishops, and restrained only to the King and the Archbishops; yet even that did not prove an effectual restraint. So a Proclamation was set out, restraining all Preaching, till the Order, which was then in the hands of the Bishops, should be finished; and instead of hearing Sermons, all were required to apply themselves to Prayer,

Prayer, for a bleſſing on that which was then a preparing, and to content themſelves in the mean while with the Homilies. Book II. 1548.

The War of *Scotland* continued: the *Scots* received a great ſupply from *France* of 6000. Men, under the command of *Deſſy*. The *Engliſh* had fortified *Hadington*, which was well ſituated, and lay in a fruitful Countrey: ſo the Governour of *Scotland* joyning an Army of *Scots* to the *French*, ſat down before it. The Protector ſaw the inconveniencies of a long War coming on him, both with *Scotland* and *France:* ſo he offered a truce for 10. years, in which time he hoped by preſents and practices, to gain, or at leaſt to divide thoſe, who were united by the War. Many of the *Scotch* Nobility liked the Propoſition well: and indeed the inſolence of the *French* was ſuch, that inſtead of being Auxiliaries, they conſidered them as Enemies. But the Clergy were ſo apprehenſive of a Match with *England*, that they never concluded themſelves ſecure, till it were put out of their power: and ſo did vehemently promote the Propoſition made by the *French*, of ſending their Queen over to *France:* and this was in concluſion agreed to. So the *French* Ships that brought over the Auxiliaries, carried back the young Queen. The ſiege of *Hadington* went on: a great recruit ſent to them from *Berwick* was intercepted, and cut off: but they were well ſup- *Affairs in Scotland.*

Book II. 1548.

plied with Ammunition and Provisions. Some Castles that the *English* had, were taken by surprize, and others by Treachery: a Fleet was sent to spoil the Coast of *Scotland*, under the Admirals command, but he made only two descents, in both which he had such ill success, that he lost near 1200. Men in them. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* led in a good Army to the Relief of *Hadington*: The Siege was opened, and the place well supplied. But as *Dessy* marched back to *Edenburgh*, his Souldiers committed great outrages upon the *Scots*, so that if *Shrewsbury* had designed to fight, he had great advantages, since the *Scots* were now very weary of their imperious friends, the *French*: but he marched back, having performed that for which he was sent. *Dessy* followed him, and made a great inroad into *England*, but would not give the *Scots* any share of the spoil, and treated them in all things, as a conquered Province: and being in fear of them, he fortified himself in *Leith*, which before was but an inconsiderable Village. He also attacked the Fort which the *English* had in *Inchkeith*, and took it. But he was recalled upon the Complaints that were sent to the Court of *France*, against him. Now the People there began to feel their slavery, and to hate those that had perswaded the sending their Queen to *France*, and particularly the Clergy, and were thereby the more disposed to hearken to such

such Preachers, as discovered their Corruptions and superstition. *Monluc* Bishop of *Valence*, a Man celebrated for wisdom, and for so much moderation in matters of Religion, that it drew upon him the suspicion of Heresie, was sent over from *France* to be Chancellor of *Scotland*. This was like to give great discontent to the *Scottish* Nobility: so he returned to *France*. The *English* were now involved in a War, in which they could promise themselves no good issue, unless they could conquer the Kingdom: for the end they had proposed by a Match, was now put out of the power, even of the *Scots* themselves.

In *Germany*, the Emperor, after he had used all possible endeavours to bring the Council back to *Trent*, but without success, protested against those at *Bologna*: and ordered three Divines (one of them was esteemed a Protestant) to draw a Book for reconciling matters of Religion, which should take place in that interval, till a Council should meet in *Germany*, called from that the *Interim*. The chief Concessions in favour of the Protestants were the Communion in both kinds, and that married Priests might officiate. A Diet was summoned, where *Maurice* was invested in the Electorate of *Saxe*, the degraded Elector being made to look on, and see the Ceremony; which he did with his ordinary constancy of mind: and without expressing any concern about it,

Affairs in *Germany*.

Book II. 1548.

he returned to his ſtudies, which were chiefly imployed in the Scriptures. The Book was propoſed to the Diet, and the Biſhop of *Mentz*, without any Order, thanked the Emperour for it, in their name, and this was publiſhed, as the conſent of the Diet. So ſlight a thing will paſs for a conſent of the States, by a Conquerour that looks on himſelf as above Law. Both Papiſts and Proteſtants were offended at it. It was condemned at *Rome*, where no Hereſie was more odious than that the Secular Powers ſhould meddle in points of Faith. The Proteſtants generally refuſed it: and the impriſon'd Elector could not be wrought on to receive it, neither by the Offers that were made him, nor the ſeverities he was put to, in all which he was always the ſame. Some conteſts aroſe between *Melanchthon*, and the other *Lutherans*: for he thought the Ceremonies, being things indifferent, might be received; but the others thought theſe would make way for all the other errors of Popery. The Proteſtant Religion was now almoſt ruined in *Germany*, and this made the Divines turn their eyes to *England*. *Calvin* wrote to the Protector, and preſt him to go on to a more compleat Reformation, and that Prayers for the Dead, the Chriſm and Extream Unction might be laid aſide. He deſired him to truſt in God, and go on, and wiſhed there were more preaching, and in a more lively way, than he heard was then in

in *England*: but above all things he prayed him to suppress that Impiety and profanity, that, as he heard, abounded in the Nation.

In the end of this Year, a Session of Parliament met, but no Bill was finished before *February*; the first was concerning the married Clergy, which was finished by the Commons in six days, but lay six Weeks before the Lords: Nine Bishops, and four Temporal Lords protested against it. It was declared, that it were better for Priests to live unmarried, free of all worldly cares; yet since the Laws compelling it, had occasioned great filthiness, they were all repealed. The pretence of Chastity in the *Romish* Priests, had possessed the World with a high opinion of them, and had been a great reflection on the Reformers, if the World had not clearly seen through it, and been made very sensible of the ill effects of it, by the defilement it brought into their own Beds and Families. Nor was there any point in which the Reformers had enquired more, to remove this prejudice, that lay against them. In the old Testament, all the Priests were not only married, but the Office descended by Inheritance. In the New Testament, Marriage was declared *Honourable in all:* among the qualifications of Bishops and Deacons, their being the *Husbands of one Wife*, are reckoned up. Many of the Apostles were married, and carried their Wives about

A Session of *Parliament.*

An Act for the marriage of the Clergy.

Book II.

1549. with them, as also *Aquila* did *Priscilla*. Forbidding to marry, is reckoned a mark of the Apostasie, that was to follow. Some of the first Hereticks inveighed against Marriage, but the Orthodox justified it, and condemned those Churchmen that put away their Wives: which was confirmed by a General Council, in the fifth Century: *Paphnutius*, in the Council of *Nice*, opposed a motion that was made for it: *Hilary* of *Poictiers* was married, *Basil* and *Nazianzen*'s Fathers were Bishops. *Heliodorus*, the first that wrote a Romance, moved that Bishops might live singly; but till then every one did in that as he pleased, and even those who were twice married, if the first was before their Conversion might be Bishops, which *Jerome* himself, though very partial to celibate, justifies; all the Canons made against the married Clergy, were only positive Laws, which might be repealed. The Priests in the *Greek* Church did still live with their Wives at that time; In the West, the Clergy did generally marry; and in *Edgar*'s time, they were for the most part married in *England*. In the Ninth Century *P. Nicolas* prest the Celibate much, but was opposed by many. In the Eleventh Century, *Gregory* the *7th.* intending to set up a new Ecclesiastical Empire, found that the unmarried Clergy would be the surest to him, since the married gave Pledges to the State, and therefore he proceeded furiously in it; and called all the married

In Trullo.

Priests,

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Prieſts, *Nicolaitans* : yet in *England*, *Lanfranc* did only impoſe the Celibate on the Prebendaries, and the Clergy that lived in Towns: *Anſelm* impoſed it on all without exception; but both he, *Bernard*, and *Petrus Damiani*, complain, that *Sodomy* abounded much, even among the Biſhops: And not only *Panormitan*, but *Pius* the 2*d*. wiſhed, that the Laws for the Celibate were taken away. So it was clear, that it was not founded on the Laws of God: and it was a ſin to force Churchmen to vow that which ſometimes was not in their power: and it was found by examining the forms of Ordination, that the Prieſts in *England* had made no ſuch vows; and even the vow in the *Roman* Pontifical to live chaſtly, did not import a tie not to marry, ſince a Man might live Chaſt in a married ſtate. Many lewd ſtories were publiſhed of the Clergy, but none ſeemed more remarkable, than that of the *Pope*'s Legate, in *Henry* the ſecond's time, who the very ſame Night after he had put all the married Clergy from their Benefices, was found a-bed with a Whore. It was alſo obſerved that the unmarried Biſhops, if they had not Baſtards to raiſe, were as much ſet on advancing their Nephews and Kindred, as thoſe that were married could be: Nor did any Perſons meddle more in ſecular affairs, than the unmarried Clergy: and it might be reaſonable to reſtrain the Clergy, as was done in the Primitive Church, from converting the

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Goods of the Church, which were entrusted to their care, to the enriching of their Families. None appeared more zealous for procuring this liberty, than several Clergy men that never made use of it, in particular *Ridley* and *Redmayn*.

An Act confirming the Liturgy.

Another Act past, confirming the Liturgy, which was now finished, Eight Bishops, and three Temporal Lords only protesting against it. There was a long preamble, setting forth the inconvenience of the former Offices, and the pains that had been taken to reform them; and that diverse Bishops and Divines had, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with an uniform agreement concluded on the new Book: therefore they Enacted, That by *Whitsunday* next, all Divine Offices should be performed according to it, and if any used other Offices, for the first offence they should be imprisoned six months, lose their Benefices for a second, and be imprisoned during life for the third offence. Some censured those words, that the Book was composed by the *Aid of the Holy Ghost*; but this did not import an *Inspiration*, but a *Divine assistance*. Many wondred to see the Bishops of *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, and *Westminster*, protest against the Act, since they had concurred in composing the Book. It does not appear whether they were dissatisfied at any thing in it, or whether they opposed the imposing it on such severe penalties; or if they were displeased at a Proviso that was added

added for the using of Psalms taken out of the Bible, which was intended for the singing Psalms then put in Verse, and much used both in Churches and Houses, by all that loved the Reformation. In the Primitive times the Christians used the Psalter much, and the chief devotion of the Monastick Orders consisted in repeating it often. *Apollinarius* put it in Verse, and both *Nazianzen* and *Prudentius* wrote many devout Hymns in Verse: Others, though in Prose, were much used, as the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the *Te Deum*: afterwards the greatest part of the Offices was put in *Latin* Rhimes, and so now some *English* Poets turned the Psalter into Verse, which was then much esteemed; but both our Language and Poetry, being since that time much improved, this work has now lost its beauty so much, that there is great need of a new Version.

Another Act past about Fasting, declaring, "That though all days and meats "were in themselves alike, yet fasting, be- "ing a great help to vertue, and to the "subduing the Body to the mind, and "a distinction of meats conducing to the "advancement of the Fishing trade, it was "Enacted, That *Lent*, and all *Fridays* and "*Saturdays*, and *Ember* days should be "Fish days, under several penalties, excepting the weak, or those that had the "Kings Licence. Christ had told his Disciples, that when he was taken from them, they should *fast*: So in the Primitive

An Act for Fasting.

Book II. 1549.

tive Church they faſted before *Eaſter*; but the ſame number of days was not obſerved in all places; afterwards other rules and days were ſet up: but S. *Auſtin* complained, that many in his time placed all their Religion in obſerving them. Faſt-days were turned to a mockery in the Church of *Rome*, in which they both dined, and did eat Fiſh dreſt exquiſitely, and drank Wine. This made many run to another extream againſt all Faſts, or diſtinction of days, which certainly, if rightly managed, and without ſuperſtition, is a great means for keeping up a ſeriouſneſs of mind, which is neceſſary for maintaining the power of Religion. Other Bills were propoſed, but not paſt, one for making it Treaſon to marry the Kings Siſters, without the conſent of the King and Council: But the forfeiture of Succeſſion in that caſe was thought ſufficient. The Biſhops did alſo complain of their want of power to repreſs vice, which ſo much abounded: But the Laity were ſo apprehenſive of coming again under an Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny, that they would not conſent to it. A Propoſition was alſo made for bringing the Common Law into a body, in imitation of *Juſtinians* Digeſts: But it fell, being too great a deſign to be finiſhed under an Infant King.

The *Admirals Attainder.*

In this Parliament the Admiral was Attainted. The Queen Dowager died in *September* laſt, not without ſuſpicion of Poiſon; upon that he renewed his Addreſſes

dreſſes to Lady *Elizabeth*; but finding it in vain to expect that his Brother and the Council would conſent to it, and that her right to the Succeſſion would be cut off if he married her without their conſent, he reſolved to make ſure of the Kings Perſon, till he made a change in the Government: He fortified his Houſe, he laid up a Magazine, and made a party among the Nobility. The Protector imployed many to divert him from thoſe deſperate deſigns, but his Ambition being incurable, he was forced to proceed to extremities againſt him. He ſent him Priſoner to the *Tower* in *January*, with his Confederate *Sharington*, who being Vice-Treaſurer of the Mint at *Briſtol*, had ſupplied him with Money, and had coined much baſe Money for his uſe. Many were ſent to perſwade him to a better mind, and his Brother was willing to be again reconciled to him, if he would retire from the Court and buſineſs; but he was intractable. So, many Articles were objected to him, both of his deſigns againſt the State, and of his Malverſation in his Office, ſeveral Pyrates having been entertained by him. Many Witneſſes and Letters under his own hand, were brought againſt him. Almoſt the whole Council went to the *Tower* and examined him; but he refuſed to make any Anſwers, and ſaid he expected an open Tryal. The whole Council upon this, acquainted the King with it, and deſired him to refer the matter to the Parliament, which he granted.

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Upon

Book II. 1549. Upon that, some Counsellors were again sent to see what they could draw from him, but he was sullen, and after he had answered to three of the Articles, denying some particulars, and excusing others, he refused to go any further. The business was next brought into the House of Lords: The Judges and the Kings Council delivered their opinions, That the Articles objected to him were Treason. Then the Evidence was given, upon which the whole House past the Bill, the Protector only withdrawing: They dispatched it in two days. In the House of Commons many argued against Attainders without a Trial, or bringing the party to make his Answers. But a Message was sent from the King, desiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun. So the Lords that had given Evidence against him in their own House, were sent down to the Commons: Upon which they past the Bill; and the Royal Assent was given the fifth of *March*: And afterwards, the King being prest to it by the Council, gave order for the Execution, which was done the twentieth of *March*. This was the only cure that his Ambition seemed capable of: Yet it was thought against nature, that one Brother should fall by the hand of another: And the Attainting a man without hearing him, was condemned, as contrary to Natural Justice; so that the Protector suffered almost as much by his death as he could have done by his life.

The

The Laity and Clergy both gave the King Subsidies, and so the Parliament was Prorogued. The first thing taken into care was the receiving the Act of Uniformity: Some Complaints were made of the Priests way of officiating, that they did it with such a tone of voice, that the people did not understand what was said, no more than when the Prayers were said in *Latine*; so this Temper was found: Prayers were ordered to be said in Parish Churches in a plain voice, but in Cathedrals the old way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the Musick used in them: Though this seemed not very decent in the Confession of sins, nor in the *Litany*, where a simple voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those devotions, than those Cadences and unmusical notes do. Others continued to use all the Gesticulations, Crossings and Kneelings, that they had formerly been accustomed to: The people did also continue the use of their Beads, which were brought in by *Peter Hermit*, in the eleventh Century, by which the repeating the Angels Salutation to the Virgin, was made a great part of their devotion, and was ten times said for one *Pater Noster*. Instructions were given to the Visitors to put all these down in a new Visitation, and to enquire if any Priests continued to drive a trade by Trentals or Masses for departed Souls. Order was also given, that there should be no Private Masses at Altars in the corners

1549. A new Visitation.

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ners of Churches, and that there should be but one Communion in a day, unless it were in great Churches, and at high Festivals, in which they were allowed to have one Communion in the morning, and another at noon. The Visitors made their Report, That they found the Book of Common Prayer received universally over all the Kingdom, only Lady *Mary* continued to have Mass said according to the abrogated forms: Upon this, the Council wrote to her to conform to the Laws; for the nearer she was to the King in blood, she was so much the more obliged to give a good Example to the rest of the Subjects. She refused to comply with their desires, and sent one to the Emperour for his Protection; upon which the Emperour pressed the *English* Embassadours, and they promised that for some time she should be dispensed with. The Emperour pretended afterwards that they made him an absolute Promise that she should never be more troubled about it, but they said it was only a Temporary Promise. A Match was also proposed for her with the King of *Portugal*'s Brother, but it was let fall soon after. She refused to acknowledge the Laws made when the King was under age, and carried herself very high, for she knew well that the Protector was then afraid of a War with *France*, and that made the Emperours Alliance more necessary to *England*: Yet the Council sent for the Officers of her Household, and required them to let her know

know that the Kings Authority was the ſame when he was a child as at full age; and that it was now lodged in them, and though as they were ſingle perſons, they were all inferiour to her, yet as they were the Kings Council, ſhe was bound to obey them, eſpecially when they executed the Law; which all Subjects of what rank ſoever were bound to obey. Yet at preſent they durſt go no further for fear of the Emperours diſpleaſure: So it was reſolved to connive at her Maſs. Book II. 1549.

The Reformation of the greateſt Errours in Divine Worſhip being thus eſtabliſhed; *Cranmer* proceeded next to eſtabliſh a form of Doctrine: the chief point that hitherto was untouched, was the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which the Prieſts magnified as the greateſt Myſtery of the Chriſtian Religion, and the chief priviledge of Chriſtians; with which the ſimple and credulous vulgar were mightily affected. The *Lutherans* received that which had been for ſome Ages the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church, that in the Sacraments there was both Bread and Wine, and alſo the ſubſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. The *Helvetians* lookt on it only as a Commemoration of the Death of Chriſt. The Princes of *Germany* were at great pains to have theſe reconciled, in which *Bucer* had laboured with great Induſtry: But *Luther* being a man of a harſh temper, did not eaſily bear contradiction, and was too apt to aſſume, in

Diſputes concerning Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament.

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in effect, that Infallibility to himself, which he condemned in the Pope. Some took a middle way, and asserted a Real Presence, but it was not easie to understand what was meant by that expression, unless it was a real application of Christs death; so that the meaning of *Really* was *Effectually*. But though *Bucer* followed this method, *Pet. Martyr* did in his Lectures declare plainly for the *Helvetians*. So Dr. *Smith*, and some others, intended publickly to oppose and affront him; and challenged him to a dispute about it, which he readily accepted, on these conditions, That the Kings Council should first approve of it, and that it should be managed in Scripture terms: For the strength of those Doctors lay in a nimble managing of those barbarous and unintelligible terms of the Schools, which though they sounded high, yet really they had no sense under that: So all the Protestants resolved to dispute in Scripture terms, which seemed more proper in matters of Divinity, than the Metaphysical language of School-men. The Council having appointed Dr. *Cox*, and some others, to preside in the dispute, Dr. *Smith* went out of the way, and a little after fled out of *England*: But before he went, he wrote a very mean submission to *Cranmer*: Other Doctors disputed with *Peter Martyr* concerning Transubstantiation, but that had the common fate of all publick disputes, for both sides gave out that they had the better. At the same

same time there were also disputes at *Cambridge*, which were moderated by *Ridley*, that was sent down thither by the Council. He had fallen on *Bertrams* Book of the Sacrament, and wondred much to find so celebrated a Writer in the ninth Century, engage so plainly against the Corporal Presence: This disposed him to think that at that time it was not the received belief of the Church: He communicated the matter to *Cranmer*, and they together made great Collections out of the Fathers on this head, and both wrote concerning it. Book II. 1549.

The substance of their Arguments was, That as Christ called the Cup *the Fruit of the Vine*, so S. *Paul* called the other Element *Bread*, after the Consecration; which shews that their natures were not changed. Christ speaking to *Jews*, and substituting the Eucharist in the room of the Paschal Lamb, used such expressions as had been customary among the *Jews* on that occasion; who called the *Lamb* the *Lords Passeover*, which could not be meant literally, since the *Passeover* was the Angels passing by their Houses, when the first-born of the *Egyptians* were killed: So it being a commemoration of that, was called the *Lords Passeover*; and in the same sense did Christ call the Bread *his Body*: Figurative expressions being ordinary in Scripture, and not improper in Sacraments, which may be called Figurative actions. It was also appointed for a Remembrance *Arguments against the Corporal Presence.*

of Christ, and that supposes absence: Book II. The Elements were also called by Christ his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*; so 1549. it is plain, they were his Body, not as it is glorified in Heaven, but as it suffered on the Cross: And since the Scriptures speak of Christs continuance in Heaven till the last day, from thence they inferred, that he was not Corporally present. And it was shewed, that the *eating Christs Flesh*, mentioned by S. *John*, was not to be understood of the Sacrament, since of every one that did eat, it is said that he has *Eternal life in him.* So that was to be understood only of receiving Christs doctrine, and he himself shewed it was to be meant so, when he said, that *the Flesh profited nothing, but his words were Spirit and Life.* So that all this was according to Christs ordinary way of teaching in Parables. Many other Arguments were brought from the nature of a body, to prove that it could not be in more places than one at once, and that it was not in a place after the manner of a Spirit, but was always extended. They found also that the Fathers had taught, that the Elements were still Bread and Wine, and were the Types, the Signs and Figures of Christs Body, not only according to *Tertullian*, and S. *Austin*, but to the Ancient Liturgies, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches. But that on which they built most, was that *Chrysostome*, *Gelasius*, and *Theodoret*, arguing against those who said that the hu-

humane nature in Christ was swallowed up by its Union to his Godhead, They illustrated the contrary thus; as in the Sacrament, the Elements are united to the Body of Christ, and yet continue to be the same that they were formerly, both in Substance, Nature, and Figure; So the Humanity was not destroyed by its Union with the *Word*. From which it appeared that it was then the received opinion, that the Elements were not changed; and therefore all those high expressions in *Chrysostome*, or others, were only strains and figures of Eloquence, to raise the devotion of the people higher in that holy action. But upon those expressions the following Ages built that opinion, which agreeing so well with the Designs of the Priests, for establishing the authority of that Order, which by its Character was qualified for the greatest performance that ever was; no wonder they took all imaginable pains to infuse it into the belief of the world, and those dark ages were disposed to believe every thing so much the rather the more incredible that it appeared to be. In the ninth Century many of the greatest men of that Age wrote against it, and none of them were for that condemned as Hereticks: The contrary opinion was then received in *England*, as appeared by one of the *Saxon* Homilies that was read on *Easter-day*, in which many of *Bertrams* words were put. But it was generally received in the eleventh and twelfth

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Book II. 1549. Century, and fully eſtabliſhed in the fourth Council in the *Lateran*. At firſt it was believed that the whole Loaf was turned into one entire Body, ſo that in the diſtribution every one had a Joint given him; and according to that conceit, it was given out that it did often bleed, and was turned into pieces of Fleſh. But this ſeemed an undecent way of handling Chriſts glorified Body, ſo the School-men did invent a more ſeemly notion, That a Body might be in a place after the manner of a Spirit, ſo that in every crumb there was an entire Chriſt; which though it appeared very hard to be conceived, yet it generally prevailed, and then the Miracles fitted for the former opinion were no more heard of, but new ones agreeing to this hypotheſis were ſet up in their ſtead. So dextrouſly did the Prieſts deceive the World; and becauſe a mouthful of Bread, or a draught of Wine, would have been ſhrewd temptations to make the people think it was really Bread and Wine that they got, therefore as the Cup was taken away, ſo inſtead of Bread, a thin wafer was given, to make the People more eaſily imagine, that it was only the accidents of Bread, that were received by them. Upon theſe grounds did *Cranmer* and *Ridley* go in this matter.

Anabaptiſts in England. There were ſome Anabaptiſts at this time in *England*, that were come over out of *Germany*: of them there were two ſorts, ſome only objected to the baptizing of Children,

Children, and to the manner of it by ſprinkling, and not by dipping: others held many opinions, that had been anciently condemned as Hereſies: they had raiſed a cruel War in *Germany*, and ſet up a new King at *Munſter*, but all theſe carried the name Anabaptiſts from that of Infant-baptiſm, though it was one of the mildeſt Opinions that they held. Some of theſe came over to *England*, ſo a Commiſſion was granted to ſome Biſhops and others, to ſearch them out, and to proceed againſt them. Several Perſons were brought before them, and did abjure their errors, which were, 'That there was not a Tri-'nity of Perſons, that Chriſt was not God, 'and took not fleſh of the Virgin, and 'that a Regenerate man could not ſin. One *Joan Bocher*, called *Joan* of *Kent*, denied that Chriſt took fleſh of the ſubſtance of his Mother; ſhe was out of meaſure vain and conceited of her notions, and rejected all the Inſtruction that was offered her with ſcorn: ſo ſhe was condemned as an obſtinate Heretick, and delivered to the ſecular Arm. But it was very hard to perſwade the King to ſign the Warrant for her Execution; he thought it was an Inſtance of the ſame ſpirit of cruelty, for which the Reformers condemned the Papiſts: It was hard to condemn one to be burnt for ſome wild Opinions, eſpecially when they ſeemed to flow from a diſturbed brain; but *Cranmer* perſwaded him, that he being Gods Lieutenant, was

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Two were burnt.

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bound in the first place to punish those offences committed against God: He also alledged the Laws of *Moses*, for punishing blasphemers: and he thought errors that struck immediately against the Apostles Creed, ought to be capitally punished. These things did rather silence than satisfie the young King: he signed the Warrant with tears in his eyes, and said to *Cranmer*, that since he resigned up himself in that matter to his judgment, if he sinned in it, it should lie at his door. This struck the Archbishop: and both he, and *Ridley* took her into their Houses, and tried what reason, joyned with gentleness, could do. But she was still more and more Insolent, so at last she was burnt, and ended her life very indecently, breaking out often in jeers, and reproaches, and was looked on as a person fitter for *Bedlam*, than a Stake. Some time after that, a Dutchman, *George van Parre*, was also condemned and burnt, for denying the Divinity of Christ, and saying, that the Father only was God. He had led a very Exemplary life, both for fasting, devotion, and a good conversation, and suffer'd with extraordinary composedness of mind. These things cast a great blemish on the Reformers: It was said, they only condemned cruelty, when it was exercised on themselves, but were ready to practise it, when they had power. The Papists made great use of this afterwards in Queen *Maries* time, and what *Cranmer* and *Ridley* suffered

ſuffered in her time, was thought a juſt retaliation on them from that wiſe Providence, that diſpenſes all things juſtly to all Men. For the other ſort of Anabaptiſts, no ſeverities were uſed againſt them, but ſeveral Books were written to juſtifie Infant-baptiſm; and the Practice of the Church ſo early begun, and ſo univerſally ſpread, was thought a good Plea, eſpecially being grounded on ſuch Arguments in Scripture, as did demonſtrate, at leaſt, the lawfulneſs of it.

The Doctrine of Predeſtination abuſed.

Another ſort of People was much complained of, who built ſo much on the received Opinion of Predeſtination, that they thought they might live as they pleaſed; ſince nothing could reſiſt an abſolute Decree: nor did thoſe who had advanced that Opinion, know well how to hinder People, from making ſuch Inferences from it; all they did, was to warn them, not to pry too much into thoſe ſecrets: but if the Opinion was true, there was no need of much prying to make ſuch concluſions from it. This had a very ill effect on the Lives of many, who thought they were ſet looſe from all obligations: and that was indeed the greateſt ſcandal of the Reformation. The Preachers were aware of it, and apprehenſive of the judgments of God, that would follow on it: of which they gave the Nation free warning.

Tumults in ſeveral parts of *England*.

At this time a ſort of Contagion of rage run over all the Commons of *England*. The Nobility and Gentry finding

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more advantage by the Trade of Wool, than by their Corn, did generally incloſe their Grounds, and turn them to Paſture: and ſo kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Eſtates into their own hands: and yet the numbers of the People increaſed, Marriage being allowed to all; the abrogation of many Holy-days, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them alſo more time to work. So the Commons feared to be reduced to great ſlavery. Some propoſed an *Aggrarian* Law, for regulating this, and the King himſelf wrote a Diſcourſe about it, that there might be ſome equality in the diviſion of the ſoyl among the Tenants. The Protector was a great friend to the Commons, and complained much of the Oppreſſion of the Landlords. There was a Commiſſion iſſued out, to enquire concerning Incloſures and Farms, and whether thoſe who purchaſed the *Abbey* Lands, and were obliged to keep up Hoſpitality, performed it, or not? and what encouragement they gave to Husbandry? but this turned to nothing. So the Commons roſe every where, yet in moſt of the Inland-Counties, they were eaſily diſperſed; and it was promiſed that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed. The Protector againſt the Councils mind, ſet out a Proclamation againſt all new Incloſures, and for indemnifying the People, for what was paſt. Commiſſioners were alſo ſent every where, to hear and determine all Complaints,

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plaints, but the power that was given to them, was so arbitrary, that the Landlords called it an Invasion of Property, when their Rights were thus subjected to the pleasure of such Men. The Commons understanding that the Protector was so favourable to them, were thereby the more encouraged: and it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convulsions *England* fell in, soon after, was chiefly occasioned by his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blamed, because he acted against the mind of the greatest part of the Council.

The Rebellion in *Devonshire*. June 10.

In *Devonshire*, the Insurrection was more formidable; the superstition of the Priests joining with the rage of the Commons, so they became quickly 10000. strong. The Lord *Russel* was sent against them with a small force, and was ordered to try, if the matter could be composed without blood: but *Arundel*, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they were not a loose body of People, easily dissipated. They sent their Demands to Court, 'That the old Service and Ceremonies might be set up again, that the 'Act of the six Articles, and the Decrees 'of General Councils might be again in 'force: that the Bible in *English* should 'be called in, that Preachers should pray 'for the Souls in Purgatory, that Cardinal '*Pool* should be restored, that the half of 'the *Abbey* Lands should be restored, to 'found two *Abbeys* in every County, and 'that Gentlemen of 100. Marks a Year,

'might

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'might have but one Servant: and they desired a safe Conduct for their Chief Leaders, in order to the Redress of their particular Grievances: afterwards they moderated their desires, only to points of Religion. *Cranmer* writ a large Answer to these, shewing the Novelty and Superstition of those Rites and Ceremonies, and of that whole way of worship, of which they were so fond: and that the amendments and changes had been made, according to the Scriptures, and the Customes of the Primitive Church: and that their being fond of a Worship, which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in ignorance, without the Scriptures, shewed their Priests had greater power over them, than the common reason of all Mankind had: as for the six Articles, that Act had never past, if the King had not gone in Person to the Parliament, and argued for it: yet he soon saw his error, and was slack in executing it. After that there was a high threatning Answer sent them in the King's name, charging them for their Rebellion, and blind obedience to their Priests. In it the King's authority, under Age, was largely set forth, for by the pretence of the Kings Minority, the People generally were made believe, that their rising in Arms, was not Rebellion. In Conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the Kings mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardoned, but

but had redreſſed their juſt Grievances. At the ſame time the like ſpirit of rage inflamed the Commons in *Norfolk*; they pretended nothing of Religion, but only to deſtroy the Gentry, and put new Counſellors about the King: they were led by one *Ket* a Tanner, and in a few days grew to be 20000. They encamped near *Norwich*, and committed great out-rages: *Parker*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, went in among them, and with great freedom inveighed againſt their Rebellion and Cruelty, and warned them of the Judgments of God that would fall on them, for which he was in great danger of his life. *Ket* was now their Prince, and in imitation of the ancient *Druids*, he did Juſtice upon complaints brought before him, under an Oak called from thence the *Oak of Reformation*. The Marqueſs of *Northampton* was ſent againſt them, with Orders to keep at a diſtance, and cut off their proviſions. There was at the ſame time a riſing likewiſe in *Yorkſhire*, where the Commons being incouraged by ſome pretended Prophecies run together, and committed acts of great barbarity on ſome Gentlemen. The *French* King hearing of all this, reſolved to take his advantage, and regain *Bulloigne*: three days before he marched with his Army, the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour preſſing him upon the Intimations that were given him of his deſigns, he aſſured him on the faith of a Gentleman, that he would not begin a War,

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The *French* begin a War.

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War, till he first gave warning. But many Princes reckon it a part of their Prerogative, to be exempted from such ties, by which only poor Subjects ought to be fettered. All these things falling upon the Government at once; it may be easily imagined, they were under no small consternation. A Fast was proclaimed at Court, where *Cranmer* preached with great freedom and vehemence: he laid out before them their vitious and ill lives, particularly of those who pretended a love to the Gospel; and set before them the Judgments of God that they might look for, and inlarged on the fresh example of the Calamities of *Germany*; and intimated the sad apprehensions he had of some terrible stroke, if they did not repent and amend their lives.

The Rebels every where routed.

The Rebels in *Devonshire* besieged *Exeter*: the Citizens resisted their assaults, but could not so easily resist the assaults that hunger made on them, for they were not provided for a Siege. They were reduced at last to great extremities, which made the Lord *Russel*, after he had got such supplies, as he judged necessary, resolve to fall upon them. They possessed themselves of a Bridge behind him, both to inclose him, and to hinder others from joyning with him; but he marched back, and did quickly beat them from it, with the loss of 600. of their Men: and by that essay he perceived how easie a work it would be to disperse them: he upon that

that marched forward to *Exeter*; and beat the Rebels from a Bridge, that opened his way to their Camp, killing a 1000. of them: upon which they raiſed the Siege, and retired in great diſorder to *Lanceſton*: he purſued them, as long as they kept in a body, and great numbers of them were killed, ſome of their Leaders and Prieſts were taken and hanged. So happily was that Rebellion ſubdued, without any loſs on the Kings ſide. But the Marqueſs of *Northampton* was not ſo ſucceſsful in *Norfolk*: he marched into *Norwich*. The Rebels having a great Party in the Town, which was a place of no ſtrength, fell in upon him next day, and drove him out of it: 100. of his Men were killed, and thirty taken Priſoners. Upon this they were much lifted up, but the Earl of *Warwick* coming thither with 6000. Men, that were prepared to be ſent to *Scotland*, they, after ſome skirmiſhes with him, were forced to retire, for they had waſted all the Countrey about, ſo, that their Proviſions failed them: but *Warwick* followed them cloſe, and killed great numbers, and diſperſed them. *Ket*, and ſome of their Leaders were taken, and hanged in Chains. The news of this going to *Yorkſhire*, the Rebels there that had not exceeded 3000. accepted the offer of pardon, that was ſent them; and ſome of the more factious, that were animating them, to make new commotions, were taken and hanged. On the 21. of

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Auguſt,

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August, the Protector published a General Pardon, in the Kings name, of all that had been done before that day. Many of the Council opposed this, and judged it better to keep the Commons under the lash; but the Protector thought, that as long as such Members continued in such fears, it would be easie to raise new disorders: so he resolved, though without the Majority of the Council, to go through with it. This disgusted the Council extreamly, who thought he took too much upon him.

A Visitation of Cambridge.

A Visitation of *Cambridge* followed soon after this. *Ridley* was the chief of the Visitors: When he found that a design was laid to suppress some Colledges, under pretence of uniting them to others, and to convert some Fellowships that were provided for Divines, to the study of the Civil Law, he refused to go along in that with the other Visitors; and particularly opposed the suppression of *Clare* Hall, which they began with. He said, the Church was already too much robbed, and yet some Mens ravenousness was not satisfied. It seemed the design was laid, to drive both Religion and Learning out of the Land; therefore he desired leave to be gone. The Visitors complained of him to the Protector, and imputed his concern for *Clare*-Hall to his partiality for the North, where he was born, that being a House for the Northern Counties. Upon that, the Protector wrote him a chiding

ding Letter, but he answered it with the freedom that became a Bishop, who was resolved to suffer all things, rather than sin against his Conscience: and the Protector was so well satisfied with him, that the Colledge was preserved. There was at this time an end put to a very foolish Controversie, that had occasioned some heat, concerning the pronunciation of the *Greek* Tongue; which many used more suitably to an *English* than a *Greek* accent. *Cheek* being the Professor of *Greek*, had taught the truer Rules of Pronunciation, but *Gardiner* was an Enemy to every thing that was new, and so he opposed it much in King *Henry*'s time: and *Cheek* was made leave the Chair: but both he, and Sir *Tho. Smith* wrote in Vindication of his Rules, with so much Learning, that all People wondred to see so much brought out upon so slight an occasion; but *Gardiner* was not a Man to be wrought on by reason. Now the matter was setled, and the new way of pronunciation took place, and that the rather, because the Patrons of it were in such power, the one being the King's Tutor, and the other made Secretary of State: and that *Gardiner*, who opposed it, was now in the *Tower*. So great an Influence has Greatness, in supporting the most speculative and indifferent things. Book II. 1549.

Bonner was now brought in trouble: It was not easie to know how to deal with him, for he obeyed every Order that was sent *Bonners* Process.

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sent him; and yet it was known that he secretly hated and condemned all that was done; and as often as he could declare that safely, he was not wanting by such ways to preserve his interest with the Papists: And though he obeyed the Orders of Council, yet he did it in so remiss a manner, that it was visible that it went against the grain. So he was called before the Council, and charged with several particulars, That whereas he used to officiate himself on the great Festivals, he had not done it since the New Service was set out; that he took no care to repress Adultery, and that he never Preached. So they ordered him to officiate every Festival, to Preach once a quarter, and to begin within three weeks, and Preach at S. *Pauls*; and to be present at every Sermon when he was in health, and to proceed severely against those who withdrew from the new Service, and against Adulterers. They required him to set forth the heinousness of Rebellion, and the nature of true Religion, and the indifference of outward Ceremonies, and particularly to declare that the Kings Authority was the same, and as much to be obeyed before he was of age as after. On the first of *September* he Preacht; he said nothing of the power of Kings under Age, and spoke but little to the other points; but enlarged much on the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament. *Hooper*, and *W. Latimer*, two of his hearers, informed against him. So a Commission

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sion was granted to *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, the two Secretaries of State, and *May*, Dean of S. *Pauls*, to examine that matter, and to imprison, or deprive him, as they should see cause for it: They were also authorized to proceed in the summary way of the Spiritual Courts. He was summoned to *Lambeth*, where he carried himself with great disrespect and disingenuity towards the Delegates; and gave the Informers very foul language; and in his whole discourse he behaved himself like one that was disturbed in his Brain. When the Commission was read, he made a Protestation against it, reserving to himself power to except to diverse things in it. He said the Informers were Hereticks, and only prosecuted him because he had taught the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. At the next meeting Secretary *Smith* was there, who was not present at the first: So upon that account, *Bonner* protested against him, he also charged Heresie on his Accusers, who were thereby under Excommunication, and so not capable to appear in any Court. He denied that any Injunctions had been given him under the Kings hand or Signet; he said he had preached against the late Rebels, which implied that the Kings power was compleat, though he was under age. It was answered to this, that the Court might proceed *ex Officio*, without Informers: And that the Injunctions, concerning the heads of which he was required to treat in his Sermon, were read

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1549. to him by one of the Secretaries, and were given him by the Protector, and they were afterwards called for, and that Article about the Kings power under age was, by Order of Council, added; and the Paper was delivered to him by Secretary *Smith*. At a third appearance the Informers offered to vindicate themselves of the charge of Heresie; but after some scurrilous language given them by *Bonner*, he was called upon to answer to the main business, which was, his saying nothing of the Kings power under age; to this he said, he had prepared notes about it, both from the Instances in Scripture, of *Solomon*, *Joash* and *Manasses*, of *Josiah* and *Joakim*, that reigned under age; as also several instances in the *English* story, as *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fifth; but he pretended these things had escaped his memory; and a long account of the defeat of the Rebels being sent to him by the Council, with an Order to read it, had put him in some confusion, and that the Book in which he had put his Notes, fell from him; for which he appealed to his Chaplains, whom he had imployed to gather for him the names of those Kings who had reigned before they were of age. But this did not satisfie the Court, so they proceeded to examine Witnesses, whom *Bonner* intangled all he could with Interrogatories, and the niceties of the Canon Law. *Bonner* built his main defence on this,

this, that in the Paper which the Protector gave him, that Article concerning the Kings age was not mentioned, but was afterwards added by *Smith*; so that he was not bound to obey it: But it was proved that the whole Council ordered that addition to be made. *Smith* had treated him somewhat sharply, for his carriage was very provoking; upon that, he renewed his former Protestation against him, and refused to look on him as his Judge, since he had declared himself so partial against him: He complained, that *Smith* had compared him to Thieves and Traytors. *Smith* said it was visible he acted as they did: To which *Bonner* answered, that as he was Secretary of State he honoured him, but as he was Sir *Thomas Smith*, he *lied*, and he *defied him*. And being threatned with Imprisonment, he seemed not much concerned at it; he said he had a few Goods, a poor Carkass, and a Soul; the two former were in their power, but he would take care of the latter. And upon that he appealed to the King, and would not answer any more, unless *Smith* should withdraw: For that contempt he was sent to the *Marshalsea*; but as he was carried away, he broke out into great passion both against *Smith* and *Cranmer*. Being called again before them, he adhered to his former Appeal, and some new matter being brought against him, he refused to answer. Great endeavours were used to perswade him to submit, and promises

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were made him of gentler usage for the future, but he continued obstinate, and instead of retracting, he renewed his Appeal. So on the first of *October*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Smith* and *May*, pronounced sentence of deprivation, because he had not obeyed the Orders of the Protector and Council, nor declared the Kings power while he was under age. He was sent back to prison till the King should give further Order, and a large Record was made of his whole deportment during the Process, and put in the Register of the See of *London*, which he took no care to deface when he was afterwards restored. This was much censured, as at best a great stretch of Law, if not plainly contrary to it. Some complained that Lay-men concurred in such a Sentence: But it was said this was no Spiritual Censure, for he was not degraded, but only deprived of his Bishoprick; and he had taken a Commission for holding it during the Kings pleasure, and so those that were Commissioned by the King might well deprive him, since he held it so precariously. It was also said that *Constantine* had appointed Triers for hearing the Complaints made of some Bishops; and they examined the business of *Cecilian* and the *Donatists*, upon an Appeal from some Synods, that had before judged that matter. That same Emperour did also by his own authority, turn out the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and the Bishop of *Constantinople*: And though the Orthodox

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dox party complained of his doing it upon the falſe ſuggeſtions of the *Arians*, yet they did not deny his authority in ſuch caſes: And it was ordinary for the Emperours to appoint the Biſhops that followed their Court to judge ſome other Biſhops, which was not done Canonically, but by the Emperours authority. But to the matter of the Sentence, it was alſo ſaid that it was hard to deprive *Bonner* for an omiſſion, that might be only a defect of his memory, as he pretended it was, though few believed that. Upon the whole matter, it was viſible that it had been reſolved to turn him out on the firſt occaſion that could be found, and that they took hold of him on this diſadvantage, and that the fault was rather aggravated for his ſake, than he deprived for the fault, which would have been more gently paſt over in another; but he had been fierce and cruel, and ſo was much hated, and little pitied. He remained a Priſoner till Queen *Mary*'s Reign, but continued to behave himſelf more like a Glutton than a Divine; for he ſent about to his Friends to furniſh him well with Puddings and Pears, and gave them all to the Devil that did not ſupply him liberally: Such Curſes were ſtrange acts of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; yet they were mild, compared to thoſe he gave out when he was again reſtored to his See in the next Reign, by which he condemned ſo many Innocents to the fire.

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The *Engliſh* affairs in Foreign parts went very unſucceſsfully this year, for when they

Book II. were so distracted at home, no wonder if both the *French* and *Scots* took advantage from thence. Most of the Forts about *Bulloigne* were taken by the *French*, but though those that commanded them, did for their own excuse, pretend they were ill provided, yet the *French* Writers publish-ed that they were well stored. From these they came and sat down before *Bulloigne*, and though the Plague broke into the *French* Camp, yet the Siege was not rai-sed: The King left the Army under the Command of *Coligny*, the famous Admiral of *France*. He found the sure way to take it, was to cut it off from Sea, and so to keep out all Supplies: But the several at-tempts he made to do that proved unsucces-sful. The Winter that came on, forced him to raise the Siege; but he lodged a great part of his Army in the Forts about, so that it was in danger of being lost next year. In *Scotland* there was also a great turn; the Castle of *Broughty* was taken by the *Scots*, and the Garrison almost wholly cut off. The *English* took care to provide *Hading-ton* well, expecting a Siege; but upon that the *Scots* let it alone; yet the charge of keeping it was so great, and the Countrey about it was so wasted, that all their pro-visions were to be sent from *Berwick*, so that the Protector thought it more advisable to abandon it; and upon that, sent orders to the Garrison to slight the works, and come back to *England*. So that now the *English* had no place beyond the Borders, except *Lander*: and *Thermes* the *French* Gene-

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General sat down before it, and if a Peace had not come, it had fallen into his hands. The Protector had now no Foreign Ally to depend on but the Emperour; and little was to be expected from him, for he was so dissatisfied with the changes that had been made in the matters of Religion, that they found his assistance was not to be trusted to. At this time the Emperour brought his Son to the *Netherlands*, that he might put him in possession of those Provinces; though the secret considerations that made him do it so early, in those places where the Prince was not Elective, is not visible. It was thought they enclined to shake off his yoke, and that if the Emperour should have then died, they would have put themselves under *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand*'s Son, afterwards Emperour. It was some such apprehension that moved *Charles* to make them swear obedience so early to his Son; and settle not only many limitations on him in the matter of imposing Taxes, and of not putting strangers in places of trust, not governing them by a Military power, but make a special provision, that in case his Son should break those rules, the Provinces should not be bound to obey him any longer: Which was the chief ground both in Law and Conscience, upon which they afterwards justified their shaking off his yoke. *Charles*, that was born in those parts, had a peculiar tenderness for them, and did perhaps fear that the rigid Councils of the *Spani-*

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ards might prevail too much on his Son, which made him so careful to secure their liberties; a rare instance of a Princes love for his people, by which he took such care of their rights, as to make their tye of obedience to his Son, to depend on his maintaining them inviolably. The Princes of *Germany* were now at the Emperours mercy, and saw no way to recover their liberty but by the help of the *French* King: So there were applications made to him, which he cheerfully entertained, only he was resolved first to make himself master of *Bulloigne*, and then to turn his whole force towards *Germany*. Advertisements were given of this to the Protector, upon which he entred into a deep consultation with his Friends what was fit to be done in so critical a conjuncture; whether it was better to deliver up *Bulloigne* to the *French* by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preserve it; which being on the *French* side, would prove a much more chargeable War to the *English* than to the *French*; and this was of very dangerous consequence when affairs were in so unsetled a condition at home; ill success, which was like to be the event of such a War, would turn on him that had the chief administration of affairs: so both regard to the publick, and to the establishing his private fortune, which could not be done in time of War, without drawing much envy on him, inclined him to deliver up *Bulloigne*. But his Enemies saw that the

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continuance of the War was like to ruine him, whereas a General Peace would put the Nation wholly in his hands, and therefore they who were the majority in the Council, ſet themſelves againſt all motions for a Treaty; and ſaid it would be a laſting reproach on the Government if ſuch a place as *Bulloigne* were ſold. Book II. 1549.

Paget gave his opinion in Writing, in which, after he had with great Judgement ballanced the affairs of *Europe*, he concluded that the reſtoring the liberty of *Germany*, and the bearing down the Emperours greatneſs, was at preſent to be preferred to all other things, and that could not be done without a conjunction with *France*; and that was to be purſued by the mediation of the *Venetians*. *Thomas*, a Clerk of the Council, and much imployed in foreign affairs, was of another mind: He thought it was very diſhonourable to deliver up the late Conqueſts in *France*, therefore he propoſed their caſting themſelves on the Emperour, that ſo ſome time might be gained: They knew the Emperour would not be hearty, unleſs they would promiſe to return to the *Roman* Religion; but he thought that was to be done in ſuch an extremity of affairs; and when the preſent difficulty was over, they might turn to other Councils. There was great danger in this, it would very much diſhearten the few Towns that refuſed to bear the Emperours yoke in *Germany*, and it would provoke the Emperour more againſt them after- Several expedients propoſed.

Book II. 1549. afterwards, if he should find that he had been deceived by them: he also proposed that in order to the imbroiling of *Scotland*, some should be imployed to perswade the Governour to aspire to the Crown, and that he should be assured of the assistance of *England*, for this would separate that Nation from the Interests of *France*.

The Emperor refuses his assistance. The issue of these Consultations, was, first, the sending over *Paget* to the Emperor, to try what might be expected from him: His publick Instructions were to obtain an explanation of some ambiguous words in the former Treaty, and a ratification of it by Prince *Philip*, and to adjust some differences in the matter of Trade: but his secret Instructions were to see, if the Emperor would include *Bulloign* in the League defensive, and so protect it: or, if that could not be obtained, he was ordered to try, whether the Emperour would take *Bulloign* into his hands, and what recompence he would give for it; but this he was ordered to propose as a motion of his own. The Emperour shifted him off for some time by delays, and pretended that the carrying his Son about from Town to Town, making them swear obedience, took him up so, that till that was over, he could not receive his Propositions. But the Progress of the *French* about *Bulloign*, made *Paget* impatient, so the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Emperour's other Ministers were appointed to treat with him. They at first treated of some diffe-

differences between the Courts of Admiralty of both ſides, and propoſed ſome Expedients for adjuſting them: for the Confirmation of the Treaty, it was offered, that the Prince ſhould do it, but *Paget* moved likewiſe, that it might be confirmed by the States. It was anſwered, that the Emperor would never ſue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties: he had fifteen or ſixteen Parliaments, and would be in a very uneaſie condition, if all theſe muſt know the ſecrets of his Negotiations: But ſince the King of *England* was under Age, it was more reaſonable for them to demand a ratification from his Parliament. *Paget* anſwered, the King's power was the ſame at all Ages, and a ratification under the Great Seal did oblige him, as much, as if he had made the Treaty himſelf: and objected, that their laſt Treaty with *France*, was ratified by the Aſſembly of the States. To this they anſwered, that the Prerogative of the Kings of *France* was ſo limited, that they could not alienate any thing, which belonged to the Crown, without conſent of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of the States; but the Emperor had a more unlimited power in making Treaties. As for the buſineſs of *Bulloign*, the Biſhop of *Arras* ſaid, it was taken after the Emperor's Treaty with *England*, and ſo was not included in it, nor could the Emperor comprehend it within it, without breach of his Faith and Treaties with *France*, which

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Book II. 1549. which was ſo contrary to the Emperor's honour, that it could not be done. For the honour of a Prince is a good excuſe, when he has no mind to engage in a deceitful or unjuſt War, but it is often forgotten, when the Circumſtances are more favourable. *Paget*, after ſeveral other Conferences, found there was nothing more to be expected of the Emperor: ſo he returned back to *England*. It was upon that propoſed in Council, whether ſince by the Treaty with *France*, *Bulloign* was to be delivered up within a few Years, it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, the iſſue of which was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it preſently; and if at the ſame time it were not more adviſable to make an end of the War in *Scotland*, ſince there was no poſſibility of compaſſing the Marriage, for which it was firſt begun.

A Faction againſt the Protector. Upon this, all the Protector's Enemies took off the Mask, and declared themſelves againſt it. The Earl of *Southampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick* were the chief ſticklers: the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other hoped to be the chief Man in buſineſs, if he ſhould fall. Many things concurred to raiſe the Protector many Enemies, his partiality to the Commons provoked the Gentry, his cutting off his Brothers head, and building a Magnificent Palace in the *Strand*, upon the ruines of ſome Biſhops Houſes

Houſes and Churches, and that in a time both of War and Plague, diſguſted the People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the changes made in Religion, but for his poſſeſſing himſelf of ſo many of the Biſhops beſt Mannors: his entertaining foreign Troops, both *Germans* and *Italians*, though done by the conſent of Council, yet gave a general diſtaſt: and that great advancement he was raiſed to, wrought much, both on himſelf and others; for it raiſed his pride, as much as it provoked the envy of others: The Privy Counſellors complained, that he was become ſo Arbitrary in his proceedings, that he little regarded the oppoſition that was made by the Majority of the Council, to any of his deſigns. All theſe things concurred, to beget him many Enemies: and except *Cranmer*, who never forſook his friend, and *Paget* and *Smith*, all turned againſt him: ſo they violently oppoſed the propoſition, for a Treaty with *France*: they alſo complained, that the Places about *Bulloign* were loſt by his careleſneſs, and by his not providing them well, and that he had recalled the Garriſon out of *Hadington*; and they put him in mind of the conditions, upon which he was firſt made Protector, by which he was limited to do nothing, but by their advice; though he had ſince that, taken out a Patent, which cloathed him with a far greater power. Upon *Pagets* return, when it was

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was visible, that nothing could be expected from the Emperor, he prest them much to consent to a Treaty with *France*, but it was said, that he had secretly directed *Paget* to procure no better answer, that so he might be furnished with an excuse, for so dishonourable an Action, therefore they would not give way to it.

Which turns to a publick breach. *October.*

The Protector carried the King to *Hampton*-Court, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which increased the Jealousies, so Nine of the Privy Council met at *Ely*-House, and assumed to themselves the Authority of the Council; and Secretary *Petre* being sent by the King, to ask an account of their meeting, instead of returning, joyned himself to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's ill government and bad designs, and of his engaging the King to set his hand to Letters, for raising Men, and for dispersing Seditious Papers; therefore they resolved to see to the safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of *London*, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower* declared for them: They also sent Letters all over *England*, desiring the assistance of the Nobility and Gentry. Seven more Privy Counsellors came and joyned with them. They wrote to the King, complaining of the Protector's obstinacy, and his refusing to hearken to their Counsels, though the late King had left the Government of his Person and Kingdom to them

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in common, and the Protector was advanced to that dignity by them, upon conditions which he had little regarded; therefore they desired the King would construct well of their Intentions and proceedings. The Protector had removed the King from *Hampton*-Court, as being an open place, to *Windsor*, which had some more defence about it; and had armed some of his own Servants, and set them about the King's Person, which heightned the Jealousies of him; yet seeing himself abandoned by all friends, except a few, and finding the Party against him, was formed to such a strength, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offered to submit himself to the Council: So a Proposition of a Treaty was set on foot; and the Lords at *London* were desired to send two of their number with their Propositions, and a Passeport was sent them for their safety. *Cranmer*, and the other two writ to the Council, to dispose them to an agreement, and not to follow *Cruel Counsels*. Many false reports, as is usual on such occasions, were carried of the Protector, as if he had threatned, that if they intended to put him to death, the King should dye first, which served to increase the prejudices against him. The Council writ to *Cranmer*, and *Paget* charging them to look well to the Kings Person, that he should not be removed from *Windsor*, and that the Duke of *Somerset*'s Servants might be put from him, and

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and his own ſworn Servants admitted to wait: they alſo proteſted that they would proceed with all the moderation and favour towards the Duke of *Somerſet*, that was poſſible. The Council underſtanding that all things were prepared, as they had deſired, ſent firſt three of their number, to ſee that the Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſome of his Creatures, *Smith*, *Stanhop*, *Thynne*, *Wolf* and *Cecil* ſhould be confined to their Lodgings; and on the *12th.* of *October*, the whole Council went to *Windſor*, and made great proteſtations of their duty to the King, which he received favourably, and aſſured them he took all that they had done in good part.

The *Protector*'s fall.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, with the reſt of his friends, except *Cecil*, who was preſently inlarged, were ſent to the *Tower*, and many Articles were objected to him, That he being made Protector, with this condition, that he ſhould do nothing, but by the conſent of the other Executors, had treated with Ambaſſadours apart, had made Biſhops and Lord-Lieutenants without their knowledge, had held a Court of Requeſts in his Houſe, had embaſed the Coin, had neglected the Places the King had in *France*, had encouraged the Commons in their late Inſurrections, and had given out Commiſſions, and proclaimed a Pardon without their conſent: that he had animated the King againſt the reſt of the Council, and had proclaimed them Traitors, & had put his own Servants armed about

about the King's Perſon. By theſe, it appears, the Crimes againſt him were the effects of his ſudden exaltation, that had made him too much forget that he was a ſubject, but that he had carried his greatneſs with much Innocence, ſince no acts of Cruelty, Rapine, or Bribery, were objected to him: for they were rather errours and weakneſſes than Crimes. His embaſing the Coin was done upon a common miſtake of weak Governments, who flye to that as their laſt refuge, in the neceſſity of their affairs. In his Impriſonment, he ſet himſelf to the ſtudy of Moral Philoſophy and Divinity, and writ a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had made great Impreſſions on him. His fall was a great affliction to all that loved the Reformation, and that was increaſed, becauſe they had no reaſon to truſt much to the two chief Men of the party againſt him, *Southampton* and *Warwick*: the one was a known Papiſt, and the other was lookt on as a Man of no Religion: and both at the Emperor's Court, and in *France*, it was expected, that upon this revolution, matters of Religion would be again ſet back, into the poſture, in which King *Henry* had left them. The Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* hoped to be diſcharged, and *Bonner* lookt to be re-eſtabliſhed in his Biſhoprick again, and all People began to fall off much from the new ſervice: but the Earl of *Warwick* finding the King was zealouſly addicted to the

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Reformation, quickly forſook the Popiſh party, and ſeemed to be a mighty promoter of that work. A Court of Civilians was appointed to examine *Bonner*'s Appeal, and upon their report the Council rejected it, and confirmed the Sentence that was paſt upon him.

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The Emperor will not aſſiſt them.

But next, foreign affairs come under their care. They ſuſpected that *Paget* had not dealt effectually with the Emperour, to aſſiſt them in the preſervation of *Bulloign*; ſo they ſent over Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, to try what might be expected from him: they took alſo care of the Garriſon, and both encreaſed it, and ſupplied it well. *Cheyney* found the ſame reception with the Emperour, and had the ſame anſwer that *Paget* got. The Emperor preſt him much, that matters of Religion might be again conſidered, and confeſt, that till that were done, he could not aſſiſt them ſo effectually, as otherwiſe he would do: ſo now the Council found it neceſſary to apply to the Court of *France* for a Peace. The Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great diſcontent, he was neither reſtored to his Office of Chancellour, nor was he made one of the ſix Lords, that were appointed to have the charge of the King's Perſon; this touched him ſo much, that he died not long after of grief, as was believed.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

In *November*, a Seſſion of Parliament met: in which an Act was paſt, declaring it Treaſon to call any to the number of Twelve

Twelve together, about any matter of State, if being required, they did not disperse themselves: other Riotous Assemblies were also declared felonious, the giving out of Prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was also made Penal. Another Law was made against Vagabonds, the former Statute was repealed, as too severe, and Provisions were made for the relief of the Sick and Impotent, and Imploying such as could work. The Bishops made a heavy complaint of the growth of Vice and Impiety, and that their power was so much abridged, that they could not repress it: so a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, but it was thought, that it gave them too much power; yet it was so moderated, that the Lords past it. But the Commons rejected it: and instead of it, sent up a Bill, that impowered XXXII. who were to be named by the King, the one half of the Temporalty, and the other of Spiritualty, to compile a body of Ecclesiastical Laws within three years, and that these, not being contrary to the Common orStatute Law, and approved of by the King, should have the force of Ecclesiastical Laws: of the 32. Four were to be Bishops, and as many to be Common Lawyers. Book II. 1549.

Six Bishops and six Divines were impowered to prepare a new form of Ordination, which being confirmed under the Great Seal, should take place after *April* next. 1550.

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next. Articles were also put in against the Duke of *Somerset*, with a Confession signed by him. But some objected, that they ought not to proceed, till they knew whether he had signed it voluntarily, or not; and some were sent to examine him, he acknowledged he had done it freely, but protested that his errours had flowed rather from Indiscretion than Malice, and denied all treasonable designs against the King, or the Realm: he was fined in 2000 *l.* a year in Land, and in the loss of all his Goods and Offices. He complained of the heavines of this Censure, and desired earnestly to be restored to the Kings favour, and promised to carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should make amends for his past follies, which was thought a sign of too abject a mind; others excused it, since the power and malice of his Enemies was such, that he was not safe as long as he continued in Prison: he was discharged in the beginning of *February*: soon after he had his pardon, and did so manage his interest in the King, that he was again brought both to the Court and Council in *April*. But if these submissions gained him some favour at Court, they sunk him as much in the esteem of the World.

1550. The Duke of *Somerset* fined, but restored to favour.

A Progress in the Reformation.

The Reformation was now, after this confusion was over, carried on again with vigour. The Council sent Orders over *England*, to require all to conform themselves to the new service, and to call in all

all the Books of the old Offices. An Act past in Parliament to the same effect; one Earl, six Bishops, and four Lords only dissenting: all the old Books and Images were appointed to be defaced, and all prayers to Saints were to be struck out of the Primers published by the late King. A Subsidy was granted, and the King gave a General Pardon, out of which all Prisoners on the account of the State, and Anabaptists were excepted. In this Session the Eldest Sons of Peers were first allowed to sit in the House of Commons. Book II. 1550.

The Committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordination, finished their work with common consent, only *Heath* Bishop of *Worcester* refused to sign it, for which he was called before the Council, and required to do it, but he still refusing, was sent to Prison. This was thought hard measure, to punish one for not concurring in a thing not yet setled by Law. *Heath* was a Complier, who went along with the changes that were made, but was ready upon the first favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old superstition. It was found, that in the Ancient Church, there was nothing used in Ordinations, but Prayer and Imposition of hands: the Additions of Anointing and giving consecrated Vestments were afterwards brought in. And in the Council of *Florence*, it was declared that the Rite of Ordaining a Priest, was the delivering

The Book of Ordinations put out.

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the Veſſels for the Euchariſt, with a power to offer Sacrifices to God for the Dead and Living, which was a Novelty invented to ſupport the belief of Tranſubſtantiation. So all theſe additions were cut off, and Ordination was reſtored to a greater ſimplicity, and the form was made almoſt the ſame that we ſtill uſe, only then in ordaining a Prieſt, the Biſhop was to lay one hand on his Head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a Chalice, and Bread in it. In the Conſecration of a Biſhop, the form was the ſame, that we ſtill retain, only then they kept up the cuſtom of giving the Biſhop a ſtaff, ſaying theſe words, *Be to the Flock of Chriſt a Shepherd.* In the middle of the ſixth Century, the Anointing the Prieſts hands was begun in *France*, but was not uſed in the *Roman* Church, for two Ages after that. In the eighth Century, the Veſtments were given with a ſpecial bleſſing, impowering Prieſts to offer Expiatory Sacrifices; then their Heads were Anointed: and in the tenth Century, the belief of Tranſubſtantiation being received, the Veſſels for the Sacrament were delivered. It is evident from the ſeveral forms of Ordination, that the Church did not believe it ſelf tied to one manner, and that the Prayer, which in ſome Ages was the Prayer of Conſecration, was in other Ages eſteemed only a Prayer preparatory to it. There were ſome ſponſions promiſed, as a Covenant, to which the Ordination

dination was a Seal: The first of these was, that the Persons that came to receive Orders, professed that they believed they were inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghost. If this were well considered, it would no doubt put many that thirst after Sacred Offices to a stand, who, if they examine themselves well, dare not pretend to that, concerning which, perhaps they know nothing, but that they have it not: and if they make the answer prescribed in the Book, without feeling any such motion in their heart, they do publickly lye to God, and against the Holy Ghost, and have no reason to expect a blessing on Orders so obtained. But too many consider that only as a Ceremony in Law, necessary to make them capable of some Place of Profit, and not as the Dedication of their Lives and labours to God, and to the gaining of Souls. It were happy for the Church, if Bishops would not think it enough barely to put these questions, but would use great strictness in examining before hand the motives that set on those, who come to be Ordained. Another sponsion is, that the Priests shall teach the People, committed to their charge, and exhort them both in private and publick, and visit the sick. By this they plight their faith to God, for the care of Souls, to be managed by them in person, and upon that they must find the Pastoral care to be a load indeed: and so will neither desert their Flocks, nor hire them out to

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weak, and perhaps scandalous Mercenaries. In which the faultiness of some have brought a blemish on this Church, and given scandal to many, who could not have been so easily perswaded to divide from it, if it had not been, that they were prejudiced by such gross and publick abuses.

The Council was now much perplexed with the business of *Bulloign*, and though they had opposed the delivering it up by the Protector, yet that end being served in pulling him down, they were convinced of the necessity of doing it, and so were induced to listen to the proposition that one *Guidotti* made for a Treaty. He was imployed by the Constable *Monmorancy*, and gave them assurances that as soon as that was ended, the *French* King would engage on the behalf of the oppress Princes of the Empire.

Pool chosen Pope, but lost it.

At this time Pope *Paul* the Third died. In the Conclave that followed, Cardinal *Farnese* set up Cardinal *Pool*, whose wise behaviour at *Trent* had raised his esteem much; it also appeared that though he was of the Emperours faction, yet he did not serve him blindly. Some loaded him both with the imputations of *Lutheranism*, and of Incontinence: The last would not have hindred his advancement much, though true, yet he fully cleared himself of it: But the former lay heavier, for in his retirement at *Viterbo*, where he was Legate, he had given himself much to the study of Controversies; and *Tranellius*, *Flaminio*, and

and others ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*, had lived in his houſe; and in the Council of *Trent* he ſeemed favourable to ſome of their opinions; but the great ſufferings both of himſelf and Family in *England*, ſeemed to ſet him above all ſuſpicions. When the party for him, had almoſt gained a ſufficient number of Suffrages, he ſeemed little concerned at it, and did rather decline, than aſpire to that dignity: And expreſſed a pitch of Philoſophy on this occaſion, that was more ſuitable to Ancient than Modern patterns. When a full number had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary Ceremony, he received it with his uſual coldneſs; and that being done in the night, he ſaid, *God loved light*, and therefore adviſed them to delay it till day came. The *Italians*, among whom Ambition paſſes for the Character of a great mind, looked on this as an unſufferable piece of dulneſs; ſo the Cardinals ſhrunk from him before day, and choſe *de Monte* Pope, who reigned by the name of *Julius* the Third. His firſt promotion was very extraordinary, for he gave his own Hat to a Servant that kept his Monkey; and being askt the reaſon of it, he ſaid, He ſaw as much in his Servant to recommend him to be a Cardinal, as the Conclave ſaw in him to induce them to chuſe him Pope. But others imputed this to an unnatural affection for him.

Book II. 1550.

Em-

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A Treaty with *France.*

Embassadours were sent over to *France*, the Lord *Russel*, *Paget* made also a Lord, and some others, to settle the Treaty of Peace: They were ordered in the first place to ask the delivery of the *Scottish* Queen, and payment of the perpetual Pension; but the *French* would not treat about these, their Master intended to marry the *Scottish* Queen to the Dauphin, and would not be tributary to another Prince, or pay a perpetual Pension, but they offered a sum of money for *Bulloign*; things stuck a little at the razing the Fortifications in *Aldernay* and *Sark*, two small Islands in the Channel which the *French* desired, and at the delivering up of *Roxburgh* and *Aymouth* to the *Scots*, then in the hands of the *English*. The Council ordered their Commissioners to insist on these things, and to offer to break up their Conference rather than yield to them; but if that had no effect on the *French*, then they were to let them go. In Conclusion, the *English* after a Protestation, by which they reserved to the King all the rights that he had at the beginning of the War, agreed to deliver up *Bulloign*, and all the places about it, and all the Ordnance in it, except what the *English* had cast, for which the *French* were to pay them four hundred thousand Crowns: All the places which the *English* had in *Scotland* were to be delivered up, and the Forts razed; and six Hostages were to be given on both sides for the performance, who were the Sons of the

the men of the greateſt quality. So was the Peace fully concluded, and the Articles were duly performed on both hands: The Council approved of the proceedings of their Plenipotentiaries, only the Earl of *Warwick*, who had declared himſelf much againſt the delivery of *Bulloign*, pretended ſickneſs, and was abſent. Book II. 1550.

At this time the Earl of *Warwick* ordered a review to be made of all accounts, and brought in much money, by the Fines of thoſe who were accuſed for Malverſation: The Earl of *Arundel* was fined in 12000 *l.* Sir *James Thynne* in 6000 *l.* and many others of the Protectors creatures in 3000 *l.*

In *February*, *Ridley* was made Biſhop of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1000 *l.* a year of the Rents of the See were aſſigned him, with licence to hold two Prebends. *Reps*, Biſhop of *Norwich* reſigned, upon which *Therleby*, Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, was removed to *Norwich*; and it was intended to re-unite *London* and *Weſtminſter*, but though they ſtill remained different Sees, yet they were now put under one mans care. His Patent was not during pleaſure, but during life. It does not appear that there was any deſign in this Reign to put down Cathedrals; for though *Weſtminſter*, *Glouceſter*, and *Durham* were ſuppreſſed, the two former being united, one to *London*, and another to *Worceſter*; and the latter being to be divided in two, yet in none

Ridley made Biſhop of *London.*

Book II.

none of these were the Dean and Chapter Lands fallen on.

1550. *Gardiners Process.*

Gardiner continued still in prison: During the Protectors Ministry some Privy Counsellors dealt with him, to sue to him for mercy, and to declare whether he approved the new Service or not: But he said he had done no fault, and so would not ask Pardon; nor would he declare his opinion while he continued a Prisoner, lest his Enemies might say he did it only to be set at liberty. Upon the Protectors fall, he expected he should have been discharged of his Imprisonment, and thought it so near, that he made a farewel Feast to the Officers in the *Tower*. Some Privy Counsellours were sent to him with Articles, acknowledging former offences, approving the Book of Common Prayer, and asserting the Kings Power when he was under age, and his authority to reform abuses in the Church, and that the six Articles were justly abrogated. He signed the Paper, only he wrote on the Margin, that he could not confess former offences, for he was not convinced of any fault he had done. Upon this, it was believed that he was to be quickly let out; but another Message was sent him, that he must confess that he had been justly punished: This he plainly refused to do, and said he would never defame himself. *Ridley* was sent to him with a new Paper, in which the confession of his faults was more

more ſoftly worded; the reſt related to the Popes power, the ſuppreſſing the Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Maſſes, Images, the Adoration of the Sacrament, Communion in both kinds, the aboliſhing the old Books of Service, and ſetting up the new; with the Book of Ordinations, and the lawfulneſs of a married Clergy: But he ſaid he would ſign no more Articles while he continued in Priſon; and deſired that he might be either tried, or ſet at liberty; for he asked not Mercy, but Juſtice. And being called before the Council, and required to ſign thoſe Articles, he gave them the ſame anſwer: He ſaid ſome of theſe points were already ſetled by Law, others were not ſo, and in theſe he was at liberty to do as he pleaſed. Upon this, his Biſhoprick was ſequeſtred, and he was required to conform himſelf within three months, under pain of deprivation, and the freedome of the *Tower* was denied him. All this was much cenſured, as contrary to Law, and the liberties of *Engliſh* men, and it was ſaid that it ſavoured more of a Court of Inquiſition, than of a legal way of proceeding. The Canon Law was not yet rectified, ſo the King being in the Popes room, this way, *ex Officio* was excuſed, as grounded upon the forms of the Spiritual Courts.

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There was a diſcourſe on foot, of a Marriage between the King, and a Daughter of *France*, which grieved the Reformers, who rather wiſht him to marry *Maximilians*

Book II

1550. *Latimer* preaches at Court.

ximilians Daughter, who was believed to favour the Reformation, and was esteemed one of the best men of the age. Old *Latimer* preached at Court, and warned the King of the ill effects of bad Marriages, which were made up only as bargains, without affection between the parties; and that they occasioned so much Whoring, and so many Divorces: He also complained of the luxury and vanity of the Age, and of many called *Gospellers*, who were concerned for nothing but Abbey and Chantry Lands; he also prest the setting up a Primitive Discipline in the Church. He preached this as his last Sermon, and so used great freedome: He complained that the Kings debts were not paid, and yet his Officers grew vastly rich: He prayed the King not to seek his pleasures too much, and charged all about him to be faithful to him.

Hooper made Bishop of *Glouceſter*, has scruples concerning the Vestments.

The See of *Glouceſter* fell vacant, and *Hooper* was named to it; upon which the heats concerning things indifferent, that have since that time so fatally rent the Church, had their their first rise. He had some scruples about the Episcopal Vestments, and thought that all those Garments, having been Consecrated with much superstition, were to be reckoned among the Elements condemned by S. *Paul*: But *Ridley* justified the use of them, and said the Elements condemned by S. *Paul* were only the *Jewish* Ceremonies; which, though the Apostles condemned, when they were im-

imposed as necessary, for that imported, that the *Mosaical* Law was not yet abrogated, and that the *Messiah* was not come; Yet they themselves used them at other times, to gain upon the *Jews* by that Compliance. And if Apostles did such things to gain them, Subjects ought much more to obey the Laws in matters indifferent: And Superstitious Consecrations was as good an Argument for throwing down all the Churches, as for laying aside those Habits. *Cranmer* desired *Bucer*'s opinion concerning the lawfulness of those Habits, and the obligation lying on Subjects to obey the Laws about them. His opinion was, that every creature of God was good, and that no former abuse could make a thing indifferent in its self, become unlawful: He thought ancient customes ought not to be lightly changed, and that there might be a good use made of those Garments; that they might well express the purity and candour that became all who ministred in Holy things, and that it was a sin to disobey the Laws in such matters. Yet since those Garments had been abused to Superstition, and were like to become a subject of Contention, he wished they might be taken away by Law; and that Ecclesiastical Discipline, and a more compleat Reformation might be set up, and that a stop might be put to the robbing of Churches; otherwise, they might see in the present State of *Germany*, a dreadful prospect of that which *England* ought

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Book II. 1550.

ought to look for. He also writ to the same effect to *Hooper*, and wished that all good men would unite against the greater Corruptions, and then lesser abuses would easily be redressed. *Peter Martyr* did also deliver his opinion to the same purpose, and was much troubled at *Hooper*'s stiffness, and at such contests among the professors of true Religion. *Hooper* was suspended from Preaching; but the Earl of *Warwick* writ to *Cranmer* to dispense with him in that matter: He answered, That while the Law continued in force, he could not do it without incurring a *Præmunire*. Upon that, the King writ to him, allowing him to do it, and dispensing with the Law: Yet this matter was not setled till a year after. *John à Lasco*, with some *Germans* of the *Helvetian* Confession, came this year into *England*, being driven out of *Germany* by the Persecution there: They were erected by Letters Patents into a Corporation, and *à Lasco* was their Superintendent; he being a stranger, medled too much in *English* affairs, and wrote both against the Habits, and against kneeling in the Sacrament. *Polydore Virgil* was this year suffered to go out of *England*, and still to hold the preferments he had in it. *Pomet* was made Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Coverdale* Co-adjutor to *Veysy* in *Exeter*.

A review of the Common-Prayer-Book.

There was now a design set on foot, for a review of the Common-Prayer-Book: In order to which *Bucer*'s opinion was asked. He approved the main parts of the former

former Book, he wiſhed there might be not only a denunciation againſt ſcandalous perſons that came to the Sacrament, but a diſcipline to exclude them: That the Habits might be laid aſide, that no part of the Communion Office might be uſed, except when there was a Sacrament; that Communions might be more frequent; that the Prayers might be ſaid in a plain voice; that the Sacrament might be put in the peoples hands, and that there might be no Prayers for the Dead, which had not been uſed in *Juſtin Martyr*'s time: He adviſed a change of ſome phraſes in the Office of the Communion, that favoured Tranſubſtantiation too much, and that Baptiſm might be only in Churches: He thought the hallowing the Water, the Chriſme, and the White garment, were too ſcenical; nor did he approve of adjuring the Devil, nor of the Godfathers anſwering in the Childs name: He thought Confirmation ſhould be delayed till the perſon was of Age, and came ſincerely to renew the Baptiſmal Covenant. He adviſed Catechizing every Holy-day, both of Children and the Adult, he diſliked private Marriages, Extream Unction, and offering Chriſomes at the Churching of Women: And thought there ought to be greater ſtrictneſs uſed in the examining of thoſe who came to receive Orders.

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At the ſame time he underſtood that the King expected a New-years gift from him, of a Book written particularly for his

Book II.

1550.

own use: So he made a Book for him, concerning the Kingdom of Christ: He prest much the setting up a strict discipline, the Sanctification of the Lords day, the appointing many days of Fasting, and that Pluralities and Non-residence might be effectually condemned, that Children might be Catechized, that the Reverence due to Churches might be preserved, that the Pastoral function might be restored to what it ought to be, that Bishops might throw off Secular affairs, and take care of their Dioceses, and govern them by the advice of their Presbyters; that there might be Rural Bishops over twenty or thirty Parishes, and that Provincial Councils might meet twice a year, that Church-lands should be restored, and that a fourth part should be assigned to the poor; that Marriage, without consent of Parents, should be annulled; that a second Marriage might be declared lawful, after a Divorce, for Adultery, and some other Reasons; that care should be taken of the education of youth, and for repressing luxury; that the Law might be reformed, that no Office might be sold, but given to the most deserving; that none should be put in Prison upon slight offences, and that the severity of some Laws, as that which made Theft capital, might be mitigated.

Bucer offers some advices to the King.

The Kings great understanding.

The young King was much pleased with these advices; and upon that, began himself to form a Scheme for amending many things

things that were amiss in the Government, which he writ with his own hand, and in a stile and manner that had much of a Child in it, though the thoughts were manly: It appears by it, that he intended to set up a Church discipline, and settle a method for breeding of youth; but the discourse is not finished. He also writ a Journal of every thing that past at home, and of the news that came from beyond Sea. It has clear marks of his own Composing, as well as it is written with his own hand. He wrote another discourse in *French*, being a Collection of all the places of Scripture against Idolatry, with a Preface before it, dedicated to the Protector. Book II. 1550.

At this time *Ridley* made his first Visitation of his Dioceſs; the Articles upon which he proceeded, were chiefly relating to the Service and Ceremonies that were abolished, whether any continued to use them or not, and whether there were any Anabaptists, or others, that used private Conventicles. He also carried some Injunctions with him, against some remainders of the former superstition, and for exhorting the people to give Alms, and to come oft to the Sacrament, and that Altars might be removed, and Tables put in their room, in the most convenient place of the Chancel. In the Ancient Church their Tables were of Wood: But the Sacrament being called a Sacrifice, as Prayers, Alms, and all Holy Oblations were, Altars put down.

Book II. 1550.

they came to be called *Altars*. This gave the rise to the Opinion of Expiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the name and form of Altars. *Ridley* only advised the Curates to do this, but upon some contests arising concerning it, the Council interposed, and required it to be done; and sent with their Order, a Paper of Reasons justifying it: Shewing that a Table was more proper than an Altar; especially, since the opinion of an Expiatory Sacrifice was supported by it. Sermons began to be preached in some Churches on working-days, this occasioned great running about, and idleness; and raised emulation among the Clergy: upon which the Council ordered them all to be put down. Since that time there has been great contention concerning these; they were factiously kept up by some, and too violently suppressed by others: But now that matter is quieted, and they are in many places still continued, to the great edification of the people. The Government was now free of all disturbance: the Coyn was reformed, and Trade was encouraged. The faction in the Court seemed also to be extinguisht, by a Marriage between the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son, and the Duke of *Somerset*'s Daughter. The Duke of *Lunenburgh* made a Proposition of Marriage with Lady *Mary*, but the Treaty with the Infant of *Portugal* did still depend, so it was not entertained.

Affairs of *Scotland*.

In *Scotland*, the Governor, now made Duke of

of *Chastelherault* in *France*, was wholly led by his base Brothers Counsels, who, though he was Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews*, yet gave himself up, without any disguise, to his pleasures, and kept another mans Wife avowedly; by such means were the people more easily disposed to hearken to the new Teachers, and prepared for the changes that followed. The Queen Mother went to *France*, on design to procure the Government of *Scotland* to be put in her hands. Book II. 1550.

A Diet was called in *Germany*; the Town of *Magdeburg* was proscribed: But they published a *Manifesto*, expressing their readiness to obey the Emperour according to Law; and that they only stood to the defence of their liberties, without doing acts of Hostility to others. It was now visible that the design of the late War was to extinguish the Protestant Religion, and to set up Tyranny. It was better to obey God than Man: And they were resolved to put all to hazard, rather than give up their Religion. Tumults were raised in *Strasburg* and other Towns, when the Mass was again set up; and all *Germany* was disposed to a Revolt, only they wanted a Head. Severe Edicts were also set out in *Flanders*; but the execution of them was stopt, at the intercession of the *English* in *Antwerp*, who were resolved otherwise to remove the Trade to another place. The Emperour prest the Diet to submit to the Council, when it should be And *Germany*.

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brought back to *Trent*: But *Maurice* of *Saxe*, to whom all the Protestants joyned, refused to do it, unless all their former decrees should be reviewed, and their Divines heard, and admitted to Vote; and that the Pope would dispense with the Oath which the Bishops sware to him: Yet he so far insinuated himself into the Emperours confidence, that he was made General of the Empire, for the reduction of *Magdeburg*, and resolved to manage that matter, so as to draw great advantages from it. The Emperour reckoned that he might well trust him as long as he had *John* Duke of *Saxe*, in his hands: But he had provoked him too much in the matter of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, his Father-in-Law, to repose such consequence in him; so that this proved a fatal errour to him, by which he lost the power he had then in *Germany*, and *Maurice* proved too hard for him in dissimulation, in which he was so great a Master.

1551. The Popish Clergy comply generally.

The Popish Clergy did now generally comply to every Change that was made. *Oglethorp* afterwards Bishop of *Carlisle*, being informed against, as favouring the old Superstition, did under his hand declare, that he thought the Order of Religion then setled, was nearer the use of the Primitive Church, than that which was formerly received; and that he condemned Transubstantiation, as a late Invention, and approved the Communion in both kinds, and the Peoples receiving always with

with the Prieſt. *Smith*, who had written againſt the Marriage of the Clergy, and was upon ſome complaints put in Priſon, being diſcharged by *Cranmer*'s Interceſſion, writ a ſubmiſſion to him, acknowledging the miſtakes he had committed in his Book, and the Arch-biſhops gentleneſs towards him: and wiſhed he might periſh, if he did not write ſincerely, and called God a witneſs againſt his Soul, if he lied. *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter* did alſo preach a Sermon at *Court* againſt Tranſubſtantiation. The Principle, by which moſt of that Party governed themſelves, was this, they thought they ought to oppoſe all the changes, before they were eſtabliſhed by Law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them. *Cranmer* was a moderate and prudent Man, and willing to accept of any thing they offered, reckoning that whether they acted ſincerely, or not, yet their compliance would be a means to quiet the Nation; he was alſo of ſo compaſſionate a nature, that he would never drive things to extremities, againſt Men that were grown old in their errours, and could not be eaſily weaned from them: only *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were ſuch deceitful and cruel Men, that he thought it might be more excuſable to make ſtretches, for ridding the Church of them.

Book II. 1551.

Martin Bucer dyed in the beginning of this Year, of the Stone, and griping of the Guts. He had great apprehenſions of *Bucer*'s death.

Book II. a fatal revolution in *England*; by reason of the ill lives of the People, occasioned chiefly by the want of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the neglect of the Pastoral charge. Orders were sent from the *Court*, to *Cambridge*, to bury him with all the Publick honour to his Memory, that could be devised. Speeches and Sermons were made both by *Haddon*, the University Orator, and *Parker*, and *Redmayn*. The last of these was one of the most extraordinary Men, both for Learning, and a true Judgment of things, that was in that time: he had also in many things differed from *Bucer*, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive, of whom he hoped now to learn so much, as he had done by his conversation with him. *Bucer* was inferior to none of all the Reformers in Learning, but superior to most of them, in an excellent temper of mind, and a great zeal for preserving the Unity of the Church: a rare quality in that Age, in which *Melanchthon* and he were the most eminent. He had not that nimbleness of disputing, for which *Peter Martyr* was more admired, and the Popish Doctors took advantage from that to carry themselves more insolently towards him.

1551.

Gardiner's deprivation.

Soon after this, *Gardiner*'s Process was put to an end: A Commission was issued out to *Cranmer*, and three Bishops, and some Civilians, to proceed against him, for his contempt, in refusing to sign the Articles offered to him: he complained, that

that all that was done againſt him, was out of malice, that he had been long impriſoned, and nothing was objected to him, that he was reſolved to obey the Laws and Orders of Council, but that he would acknowledge no fault, not having committed any. The things objected to him, were, that he refuſed to ſet out in his Sermon the King's power, when he was under Age, and had affronted the Preachers, whom the King had ſent to his Dioceſs; that he had been negligent in executing the King's Injunctions, and refuſed to confeſs his fault, or ask the King pardon; and it was ſaid that the Rebellions raiſed in *England*, might have been prevented, if he had timouſly ſet forth the King's authority: he anſwered, that he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private diſcourſe; yet Witneſſes being examined upon thoſe particulars, the Delegates proceeded to ſentence of deprivation againſt him, notwithſtanding his Appeal to the King in Perſon: and he was appointed to lie ſtill in the *Tower*, where he continued till Queen *Mary* diſcharged him. Nothing was pretended to excuſe the ſeverity of theſe proceedings, but that he having taken out a Commiſſion for holding his Biſhoprick, only during the King's pleaſure, he could not complain when that was intimated to him: and if he had been turned out meerly upon pleaſure, without the Pomp of a Proceſs, the matter might have been better

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ter excuſed. *Poinet* was put in his See, and had 2000. Marks in Lands aſſigned him for his ſubſiſtence. *Story* was put in *Rocheſter*, and upon *Veyſy*'s reſignation *Coverdale* was made Biſhop of *Exeter*. The ſcruples that *Hooper* made, were now ſo far ſatisfied, that he was content both to be conſecrated in his Veſtments, and to uſe them when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, but he was diſpenſed with upon other occaſions.

1551.

The Articles of Religion agreed on.

By this time the greater number of the Biſhops were Men that heartily received the Reformation: ſo it was reſolved now to proceed to a ſettlement of the Doctrine of the Church: many thought that ſhould have been done in the firſt place. But *Cranmer* judged it was better to proceed ſlowly in that matter: he thought the Corruptions in the Worſhip were to be begun with, ſince while they remained, the addreſſes to God were ſo defiled, that thereby all People were involved in unlawful compliances: he thought ſpeculative Opinions might come laſt, ſince errours in them were not of ſuch ill conſequence: and he judged it neceſſary to lay theſe open, in many Treatiſes and Diſputes, before they ſhould proceed to make alterations, that ſo all People might be before-hand ſatisfied with what ſhould be done. So now they framed a Body of Articles, which contained the Doctrine of the Church of *England*: they were caſt into forty two Articles, and afterwards

ſome

some few alterations being made in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, they were reduced to XXXIX. which being in all Peoples hands, need not be much inlarged on. Book II. 1551.

In the Ancient Church, there was at first a great simplicity in their Creeds; but afterwards, upon the breaking out of Heresies, concerning the Person of Christ, equivocal senses being put on the terms formerly used, new ones, that could not be so easily eluded, were invented. A humour of explaining Mysteries by similies and niceties, and of passing Anathema's on all that did not receive these, did much over-run the Church: and though the Council of *Ephesus* decreed, that no new additions should be made to the Creed, yet that did not restrain those, who loved to make all their own conceits be received, as parts of the Faith. The Fathers were carried too far with this curiosity, but the Schoolmen went farther, and spun the Thread much finer, they condemned every thing that differed from their Notions, as Heretical: Many of the *Lutherans* had retained much of that peremptorines, and were not easie to those who differed from them. In *England* great care was taken to frame these Articles in the most comprehensive words, and the greatest simplicity possible.

When this was setled, they went about the review of the Common-prayer-Book. Changes made in the Common-prayer-book.

In

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In the daily ſervice, they added the Confeſſion and Abſolution, that ſo the worſhip of God might begin with a grave and humble Confeſſion conceived in general words, but to which every one ought to joyn a ſecret confeſſion of his particular ſins: after which a ſolemn declaration of the mercy of God, according to the terms of the Goſpel, was to be pronounced by the Prieſt. This was thought much better, than the giving Abſolution in ſuch formal words, as, *I abſolve thee*, which begat in the undiſcerning Vulgar an Opinion, that the Prieſt had authority to pardon ſin, and that made them think of nothing ſo much, as how to purchaſe it at his hands: and it proved, as it was managed, the greateſt Engine that ever was, for overthrowing the power of Religion. In the Communion-Service, they ordered a recital of the Commandments, with a ſhort devotion between every one of them, judging that till Church-Diſcipline were reſtored, nothing could more effectually awaken ſuch, as came to receive it, to a due ſerioufneſs in it, than the hearing the Law of God thus pronounced, with thoſe ſtops in it, to make the People reflect on their offences againſt it. The Chriſm, the uſe of the Croſs in conſecrating the Euchariſt, Prayers for the Dead, and ſome expreſſions that favoured Tranſubſtantiation were laid aſide, and the Book was put in the ſame Order and Method, in which it continues to this day, excepting only ſome incon-

inconsiderable variations, that have been made since. A Rubrick was added to the Office of the Communion, explaining the reason of kneeling in it, that it was only as an expression of due reverence and gratitude, upon the receiving so particular a mark of the favour of God: but that no adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Christ was corporally present in it. In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time this was left out, that such as conformed in other things, but still retained the belief of the Corporal Presence, might not be offended at such a Declaration: It was again put in the Book, upon his present Majesties Restoration, for removing the Scruples of those who excepted to that posture. Christ did at first institute this Sacrament, in the ordinary Table-gesture. *Moses* appointed the Paschal Lamb to be eaten by the People standing, with staves in their hands, they being then to begin their march; yet that was afterwards changed by the *Jews*, who did eat it in the posture common at Meals, which our Saviour's practice justifies: so, though Christ in his state of Humiliation did Institute this Ordinance, in so familiar a posture, yet it was thought more becoming the reverence due to him in his Exaltation, to celebrate it with greater expressions of humility and devotion. The Ancient Christians received it standing, and bowing their Body downward: Kneeling was afterwards used as a higher expression

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preſſion of devout worſhip: but great difference is to be made, between the adoration practiſed in the Church of *Rome*, in which, upon lifting up the Hoſt, all fall down and worſhip, and our being, during the whole action, in one continued poſture of devotion: and if the *Jews*, who were more bound up to Ceremonies, made a change in the poſture, at the Memorial of their deliverance, without any warrant mentioned in the Old Teſtament; it muſt be acknowledged, that the Chriſtian Church, which is more at liberty in ſuch matters, had authority to make the like change of the poſture, in this Memorial of Chriſt's ſufferings. At this time ſix of the moſt eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the *Court* by turns, two at a time, and the other four were ſent as Itinerant Preachers, into all the Counties of *England*, in a Circuit, for ſupplying the defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

Lady *Mary* in trouble for having Maſs ſaid.

The Maſs ſaid in Lady *Mary*'s Chappel, was now again challenged. The Court was leſs afraid of the Emperours diſpleaſure than formerly, and ſo would no longer bear with ſo publick a breach of Law: And the Promiſe they had made being but Temporary, and never given in Writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the Emperour aſſured her, that he had an abſolute Promiſe for that Priviledge to her: This encouraged her ſo much, that when the Council wrote to her, ſhe ſaid ſhe would

would follow the Catholick Church, and adhere to her Fathers Religion. Answer was writ in the Kings name, requiring her to obey the Law, and not to pretend that the King was under age, since the late Rebels had justified themselves by that. The way of Worship then established, was also vindicated, as most consonant to the word of God. But she refused to engage into any disputes, only she said she would continue in her former courses. And she was thinking of going out of *England*, insomuch that the Emperour ordered a Ship to lie near the Coast for her Transportation; which was strange advice, for it is probable, if she had gone beyond Sea, she had been effectually shut out from succeeding to the Crown. The Emperour espoused her quarrel so warmly, that he threatned to make War, if she should be hardly used, and the Merchants having then great effects at *Antwerp*, it was not thought fit to give him a colour for breaking with them, and seizing on these; so the Council were willing to let the matter fall, and only advised her to have her Mass privately said: yet the young King could not be easily induced to yield to that, for he said, he ought not to connive at Idolatry. The Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poinet*, to satisfie him in it: And they convinced him, that though he ought not to consent to any sin, yet he was not at all times obliged to punish it. He burst out in weeping, lamenting his Sisters obstinacy,

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ſtinacy, and his own circumſtances, that obliged him to comply with ſuch an impious way of Worſhip. Dr. *Wotton* was ſent over to the Emperour, to convince him that no abſolute Promiſe was ever made: For *Paget* and *Hobbey*, whom the Emperour vouched for it, declared upon Oath, that they made not any but what was Temporary; and ſince the King did not meddle in the concerns of the Emperours Family, it was not reaſonable for him to interpoſe in this. The Emperor pretended, that he had promiſed to her Mother at her death, to protect her, and ſo he was bound in honour to take care of her: But now when the Council were not in ſuch fear of the Emperours diſpleaſure as formerly, they ſent to ſeize on two of her Chaplains, that had ſaid Maſs in her Houſe, when ſhe was abſent; they kept out of the way, and ſhe writ to the Council to ſtop the proſecution, and continued to ſtand upon the Promiſe made to the Emperour. A long anſwer was returned to her by the Council, in which, after the matter of the Promiſe was cleared, they urged her with the abſurdity of Prayers in an unknown tongue, offering the Sacrament for the dead, and worſhipping Images: All the Ancients appealed upon all occaſions to the Scriptures, by theſe ſhe might eaſily diſcover the errours and cheats of the old Superſtition, that were ſupported only by falſe Miracles and lying Stories. They concluded, that they being truſted with the execution of the Laws, were obliged

ged to proceed equally. *Mallet*, one of the Chaplains, was taken, and she earnestly desired that he might be set at liberty, but it was denied her. The Council sent for the chief Officers of her House, and required them to let her know the Kings pleasure, that she must have the new Service in her Family, and to give the like charge to her Chaplains and Servants. This vexed her much, and did almost cast her into sickness: She said, she would obey the King in every thing in which her Conscience was not touched: But charged them not to deliver the Councils Message to her Servants. Upon that, the Lord Chancellour, *Petre* and *Wyngfield*, were sent with the same orders to her, and carried to her a Letter from the King, which she received on her knees; but when she read it, she cast the blame of it on *Cecyl*, then Secretary of State. The Chancellour told her, the whole Council were of one mind, that they could not suffer her to use a form of Worship against Law: And had ordered them to intimate this both to herself and her Family. She made great protestations of duty to the King; but said, she would die rather than use any form of Worship but that which was left by her Father, only she was afraid she was not worthy to suffer on so good an account. When the King was of age, she would obey his Commands in Religion, and though he now knew many things above his age, yet as they did not think him yet capable of matters of War or

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Book II. Policy, so much less could he judge in points of Divinity. If her Chaplains refused to say Mass, she could have none, but for the 1551. new Service she was resolved against it, and if it were forced on her, she would leave her house. She desired her Officers might be sent back to her, whom they had put in the *Tower*, for not intimating the Councils order to her Servants; which had been strange for them to have done, when she forbid it. She charged them to use her well for her Fathers sake, who had raised them all out of nothing. She was sick by reason of their ill usage, and if she died, she would lay it at their door. She insisted on the Promise made to the Emperour, who writ of it to her, and she believed him more than them all: She gave them a token, to be carried to the King, and so dismist them. When they had laid a charge on her Chaplains and Servants, to the same effect, and were going away, she called after them, and desired they would send her Comptroller to her, for she was weary of receiving her accounts, and examining how many Loaves were made of a Bushel of Meal. Upon this resolution that she expresst, the Council went no further, only after this, her Mass was said so secretly, that she gave no publick scandal. From *Copthall*, where this was done, she removed, and lived at *Hunsden*, and thither *Ridley* went to see her: She received him very civilly, and ordered her Officers to entertain him at dinner: But when he begged leave to Preach

Preach before her, she at first blusht, but being further prest, she said he might Preach in the Parish Church, but neither she nor her Family would be there: He asked her if she refused to hear the word of God: She answered, they did not call that Gods word now, that they had called so in her Fathers days; and that in his time they durst not have said the things which they then Preached: And after some sharp and reproachful discourse, she dismist him. *Wharton*, one of her Officers, as he conducted him out, made him drink a little, but he reflecting on that, blamed himself for it; for he said, when the Word of God was rejected, he ought to have shaken off the dust of his Feet, and gone away. The Kings Sister *Elizabeth* did in all things conform to the Laws; for her Mother at her death recommended her to Dr. *Parker*'s care, who instructed her well in the Principles of Christian Religion.

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The Earl of *Warwick* began now to form great designs of bringing the Crown into his Family: The King was alienated from his Sister *Mary*, and the Privy Council had imbroiled themselves with her, and so would be easily engaged against her. The pretence against both the Sisters was the same, that they stood illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirmed in Parliament. So that it would be a disgrace to the Nation to let the Crown devolve on Bastards: And since the fears of the Eldests revenge,

The Earl of *Warwick*'s designs.

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made the Council willing to exclude her, the only reason on which they could ground that, must take place against the second likewise.

1551. And therefore though the Crown was provided to them, both by Act of Parliament, and the late Kings Will, yet these being founded on an Errour that was indispensable, which was the baseness of their descent, they ought not to take place. They being laid aside, the Daughters of the *French* Queen, by *Charles Brandon*, stood next in the Act, and yet it was generally believed that they were Bastards: For it was given out that *Brandon* was secretly married to one *Mortimer*, at the time that he married the *French* Queen, and that *Mortimer* out-lived her, so that the issue by her was Illegitimate. The Sweating Sickness did this year break out in *England*, with such Contagion that eight hundred died in one week of it in *London*; those that were taken with it, were inclined much to sleep, and all that slept died, but if they were kept awake a day, they did sweat it out. *Charles Brandon*'s two Sons by his last Wife died within a day one of another. His eldest Daughter by the *French* Queen was married to the Marques of *Dorset*, a good, but weak man, and so he was made Duke of *Suffolk*: They had no Sons, their eldest Daughter *Jane Gray*, was thought the wonder of the age. So the Earl of *Warwick* projected a Match between her and his fourth Son *Guilford*, his three elder Sons being then married: And because the Lady *Elizabeth* was

was like to ſtand moſt in the way, care was taken to ſend her out of *England*: and a Match was treated for her with the King of *Denmark*. Book II. 1551.

A ſplendid Meſſage was ſent to *France*, with the Order of the Garter. The Marqueſs of *Northampton* carried it, three Earls, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and five Lords were ſent with him, and above two hundred Gentlemen accompanied them. They were to make a Propoſition of Marriage for the King with a Daughter of *France*. The Biſhop of *Ely* made the firſt Speech, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* anſwered him: it was ſoon agreed on, yet neither Party was to be bound, either in Honour or Conſcience, till the Lady ſhould be of Years to give conſent. A noble Embaſſy was ſent in return from *France* to *England*, with the Order of Saint *Michael*. They deſired in their Maſter's name the continuance of the King's friendſhip, and that he would not be moved by Rumors, that might be raiſed to break their Alliance. The young King anſwered on the ſudden, 'that Rumours were not always to 'be believed, nor always to be rejected, 'for it was no leſs vain to fear all things, 'than to doubt of nothing: if any differ-'ences hapned to ariſe, he ſhould be al-'ways ready to determine them, rather 'by reaſon than by force, ſo far as his 'Honour ſhould not be thereby diminiſhed. This was thought a very extraordinary *A Treaty for a Marriage to the King.*

answer, to be made by one of Fourteen on the sudden.

There was at this time a great Creation of Peers. *Warwick* was made Duke of *Northumberland*, the blood of the *Piercies* being then under an Attainder: *Pawlet* was made Marquess of *Winchester*, *Herbert* was made Earl of *Pembroke*, and a little before this, *Russel* had been made Earl of *Bedford*, and *Darcy* was made a Lord. There was none so likely to take the King out of *Northumberlands* hands, as the Duke of *Somerset*, who was beginning to form a new Party about the King; so upon some Informations, both the Duke of *Somerset* & his Dutchess, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Tho. Palmer*, Sr *Tho. Arundel*, & several others, of whom, some were Gentlemen of Quality, and others were the Dukes servants, were all committed to the *Tower*. The committing of *Palmer* was to delude the World, for he had betrayed the Duke, and was clapt up as a Complice, and then pretended to discover a Plot: He said, the Duke intended to have raised the People, and that *Northumberland*, *Northampton* and *Pembroke*, having been invited to dine at the Lord *Pagets*, he intended to have set on them by the way, or have killed them at Dinner; that *Vane* was to have 2000. Men ready; *Arundel* was to have seized on the *Tower*, and all the Gendarmoury were to have been killed. All these things were told the young King with such Circumstances, that he too easily believed them,

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and

and so was much alienated from his Uncle, judging him guilty of so foul a Conspiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke intended to have raised the City of *London*, one *Crane* confirmed *Palmers* testimony, and both the Earl of *Arundel*, and *Paget* were also committed as Complices. On the first of *December*, the Duke was brought to his Trial: The Marques of *Winchester* was Lord Steward, and 27. Peers sat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. The particulars charged on him were, a design to seize on the King's Person, to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*, and to raise the City of *London*; it seemed strange to see *Northumberland* sit a Judge, when the crime objected, was a design against his life: for though by the Law of *England* no Peer can be challenged, yet by the Law of Nature no Man can well judge where he is a Party. The Chancellour, though a Peer, was left out, upon suspicion of a reconciliation, which he was making with the Duke: He was not well skilled in Law, and neither objected to the Indictment, nor desired Council to plead for him, but only answered to matters of fact: he denied all designs to raise the People, or to kill *Northumberland*; if he had talked of it, it was in passion without any Intention: and it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small Troop, could destroy the Gendarmoury, who

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His Trial.

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were 900. The armed Men he had about him, were only for his own defence, he had done no mischief to his Enemies, though it was once in his power to have done it; and he had rendred himself without making any resistance: He desired the Witnesses might be brought face to face, and objected many things to them; chiefly to *Palmer*; but that was not done, and their Depositions were only read: The King's Councel pleaded upon the Statute, against unlawful Assemblies, that to contrive the death of Privy Counsellors was Felony, and to have Men about him for his defence, was also Felony. The material defence was omitted, for by that Statute those Assemblies were not seditious, except being required to disperse themselves, they had refused to do it, and it does not appear that any such Proclamation had been made in this case. The Proofs of his raising Rebellion were insufficient, so he was acquitted of Treason, which raised a great shout of joy, that was heard as far as *Charing-Cross*, but he was found guilty of Felony, for intending to imprison *Northumberland*. He carried himself, during the Trial, with great temper, and all the sharpness which the Kings Councel expressed in pleading against him, did not provoke him to any undecent passion. But when Sentence was given, he sunk a little, and asked the three Lords, that were his Enemies, pardon, for his ill designs against them, and made sute for his

his life, and for his Wife and Children. It was generally thought, that nothing being found againſt him, but an Intention to impriſon a Privy Counſellor, that never took effect, one ſo nearly related to the King, would not have been put to death on that account. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe in the King a great Averſion to him: ſo a ſtory was brought to the King, as if in the *Tower* he had confeſſed a deſign to imploy ſome to Aſſaſſinate thoſe Lords; and the Perſons named for that wicked ſervice, were alſo perſwaded to take it on them. This being believed by the King, he took no more care to preſerve him, aſſaſſination being a crime of ſo barbarous a nature, that it poſſeſſed him with a horrour, even to his Uncle, when he thought him guilty of it: and therefore he was given up to his Enemies rage. *Stanhop*, *Partridge*, *Arundel* and *Vane* were tried next, the two firſt were not much pitied, for they had made a very ill uſe of their Intereſt in the Duke, during his greatneſs: the other two were much lamented. *Arundels* Jury was ſhut up a whole Day and a Night, and thoſe that were for the acquittal, yielded to the fury of the reſt, only that they might ſave their own Lives, and not be ſtarved. *Vane* had done great ſervices in the Wars, and carried himſelf with a Magnanimity, that was thought too extravagant: they were all condemned, and *Partridge* and he were hanged, the other Two were beheaded. The

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1551. *Rich* gives up the Great Seal, and it was given to the Bish. of *Ely*.

The Lord Chancellor was become a secret friend to the Duke of *Somerset*, and that was thus discovered: he went aside once at Council, and writ a Note, giving the Duke notice of what was then in agitation against him, and endorsed it only for *the Duke*, and sent it to the *Tower*, but his Servant not having particular directions, fansied it was to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and not to *Somerset*, and carried it to him. He to make *Northumberland* his friend, sent this to him; *Rich* understanding the mistake, in which his Servant had fallen, prevented the discovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending some indisposition, desired to be discharged; and upon that took his Bed, so it seemed too barbarous to do any thing further against him, only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was put in the Bishop of *Ely*'s hands. This was much censured, for all the Reformers had inveighed severely against the secular imployments, and high places, which Bishops had in the Church of *Rome*, since by these they were taken wholly off from the care of Souls, or those spiritual exercises that might dispose them for it, and assumed only the name and garb of Churchmen, to serve their Ambition and Covetousness; and by this the People were much prejudiced against them, so upon *Goodrick*'s advancement, this was turned against the Reformers: it was said, they only complained of those things, when their Enemies enjoyed them,

them, but changed their minds, as soon as they fell into the hands of their friends: but *Goodrick* was no Pattern, he complied only with the Reformation, but turned when Queen *Mary* succeeded. Christ said, *Who made me a Judge?* St. *Paul* left it as a Rule, *that no Man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.* This Saint *Cyprian*, and the other Fathers understood, as a perpetual prohibition of Churchmen's medling with secular matters; and condemned it severely. Many Canons were made against it in Provincial Councils, and a very full one was decreed at *Chalcedon.* But as the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* grew rich, and powerful, they establisht a sort of secular principality in the Church: and other Sees, as they encreased in wealth, affected to imitate them. *Charles* the Great, raised this much every where, and gave great Territories and Priviledges to the Church; upon which, the Bishop and Abbots, were not only admitted to a share, in the Publick Counsels, by virtue of their Lands, but to all the chief Offices of the State; and then Ecclesiastical Preferments were given to Courtiers, as Rewards for their services: and by these means the Clergy became very corrupt, Merit and Learning being no more the standards, by which Men were esteemed or promoted: and Bishops were only considered, as a sort of great Men, who went in a peculiar Habit, and on great

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great Festivities were obliged to say Mass, or perform some other Solemnities, but they wholly abandoned the Souls committed to their care, and left the spiritual part of their callings, to their Vicars and Arch-deacons, who made no other use of it, but to squeeze the Inferiour Clergy, and to oppress the People: and it was not easie to perswade the world, that those Bishops did much aspire to Heaven, who were so indecently thrusting themselves into the Courts of Princes, and medling so much in matters, that did not belong to them, that they neglected those, for which they were to account to God.

The Duke of *Somerset*'s Execution.

On the 22. day of *January*, the Duke of *Somerset* was executed at *Tower*-Hill, the substance of his Speech, was a Vindication of himself, 'from all ill designs, 'he confessed his private sins, and ac-'knowledged the mercies of God, in grant-'ing him time to Repent: he declared 'that he had acted sincerely in all he did, 'in matters of Religion, while he was in 'power: and rejoyced for his being In-'strumental in so good a work: he ex-'horted the People to live sutably to the 'doctrine received among them; other-'wise they might look for great Judg-'ments from God. As he was going on, there was an unaccountable Noise heard, which so frighted the People, that many run away. Sir *Anthony Brown* came up, riding towards the Scaffold, which made the

the Spectators think, that he brought a Pardon, and this occasioned great shouts of Joy, but they soon saw their mistakes; so the Duke went on in his Speech, 'He 'declared his chearful submission to the 'will of God, and desired them likewise 'to acquiesce in it; he prayed for the 'King and his Council, and exhorted the 'People to continue obedient to them: 'and asked the forgiveness of all, whom 'at any time he had offended. Then he turned to his private devotions, and fitted himself for the blow, which upon the signal given, severed his Head from his Body.

He was a Man of extraordinary Virtues, of great candor, and eminent Piety: he was always a promoter of Justice, and a Patron of the oppressed. He was a better Captain than a Counsellor, and was too easie and open-hearted, to be so cautious, as such times, and such Imployments required. It was generally believed, all this Conspiracy, for which he, and the other Four suffered, was only a forgery: all the other Complices were quickly discharged, and *Palmer*, the chief Witness, became *Northumberlands* particular confident: and the indiscreet words, which the Duke of *Somerset* had spoken, and his gathering armed Men about him, was imputed to *Palmer*'s artifices, who had put him in fear of his life, and so made him do, and say those things, for which he lost it. His four friends did all end their Lives,

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Lives, with the most solemn protestations of their Innocence, and the whole matter was lookt on, as a contrivance of *Northumberlands*, by which he lost the affections of the People entirely. Some reflected on the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surrey*'s death, occasioned likewise by a Conspiracy of their own Servants, in which it was thought, this Duke was too active. He was also much censured for his Brothers death. He had raised much of his Estate out of the spoils of Bishops Lands, and his Palace out of the Ruines of some Churches; and to this some added a remark, that he did not claim the benefit of his Clergy, which would have saved him, and since he had so spoiled the Church, they imputed it to a particular Judgment on him, that he forgat it: But in this they were mistaken, for in the Act by which he was condemned, it was provided that no Clergy should purge that Felony.

The affairs of *Germany*.

In *Germany*, *Maurice* began this year to form a great design: He enter'd into correspondences not only with the Princes of *Germany*, but also with *France* and *England*; and having given intimations of his designs for the liberty of *Germany*, and the security of the Protestant Religion, to some that had great credit in *Magdeburg*, he brought that Town to a surrender, and having made himself sure of the Army, he quartered his Troops in the Territories of

of the Popish Princes, by which they were all much alarmed, only the Emperour did not apprehend the danger till it was too late for him. A quarrel fell in between the Pope and the King of *France*, about *Parma*: The Pope threatned, if that King would not restore *Parma*, he would take *France* from him. Upon that, the Council being now again opened at *Trent*, the King of *France* protested against it, and declared that he would call a National Council in *France*, and would not obey, nor receive their Decrees. The Emperor still pressed the *Germans* to send Embassadours and Divines to *Trent*. The Council began with the points about the Eucharist, and it was ordered that these should be handled according to the Scriptures and Ancient Authors; the *Italians* did not like this, and said the bringing many quotations was only an Act of Memory, and that way would give the *Lutherans* great advantages: The sublime speculations of the Schools, together with their terms, were much safer Weapons to deal with. A Safe-Conduct was demanded from the Council, for the Emperours Conduct was not thought sufficient, since at *Constance*, *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague* were burnt, though they had the Emperours Safe-Conduct. The Council of *Basil* had granted a very full one to the *Bohemians*; so the *Lutherans* demanded one in the same form, but though one was granted, yet it was in many things short of that. The Elector of

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Book II. *Brandenburg* sent an Embassadour to *Trent*, who made a general Speech of the respect his Master had for them. The Legates 1551. answered, and thanked him for submitting to their Decrees, of which the Embassadour had not said a word; but when he expostulated about it, the Legates said, they answered him according to that he ought to have said, and not to that he did say. The Council decreed, the manner of Christs presence to be ineffable, and yet added that Transubstantiation was a fit term for it; for that was a notion as unconceivable as any that could be thought on: Then they decreed the necessity of Auricular Confession, that thereby Priests might keep a proportion between Penances and Sins, which was thought a mockery; for the trade of slight Penances, and easie Absolutions for the greatest sins, shewed there was no care taken to adjust the one to the other. The Embassadour of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* came, and moved for a Safe-Conduct to their Divines to come and maintain their Doctrine: The Legates answered, they would enter into no disputes with them, but if they came with an humble mind, and proposed their scruples, they would satisfie them. Embassadours from some Towns arrived at *Trent*, and those sent by the Duke of *Saxe* were on their way, upon which the Emperour ordered his Agents, to gain time, and hinder the Council to proceed in their decisions till those were heard, but all he could prevail in,

in, was that the Article concerning the Communion in both kinds, was postponed till they should come. Book II. 1552.

The day after the Duke of *Somerset*'s execution, a Session of Parliament was assembled. The first Act they past was about the Common-Prayer-Book, as it was now amended: To it only one Earl, two Bishops, and two Lords dissented. The Book was appointed to be every where received after *All-hallows* next. The Bishops were required to proceed by the censures of the Church, against such as came not to it; they also authorized the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the same Penalties against offendors, that were in the Act for the former Book three years before. The Papists took occasion on the changes now made in the Book, to say, that the new Doctrines and ways of Worship changed as fast as the fashions did. It was answered, That it was no wonder if corruptions, which had been creeping in for a thousand years, were not all discovered, and thrown out at once; and since they had been every age making additions of new Ceremonies, it might be excused, if the Purging them out was done by such easie degrees. The Book was not to be received till *All-hallows*, because it was hoped that between and then the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws would have been finished: A Bill concerning Treasons past with only one dissent, it was much opposed in the H. of Commons; for

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the multiplying of Treasons is always lookt on as a severity in the Government. One Bill was rejected, but another was agreed on, 'If any called the King, or his Successors, named in the Statute of 35 *Hen.* 8. 'Heretick, Tyrant, or other opprobrious 'words, he was for the first offence to be 'punished with a forfeiture of Goods and 'Chattels, for the second with a *Præmu-nire*, and the third offence was made 'Treason: but if it was done in printing 'or writing, the first offence was Treason. None were to be prosecuted for 'words, but within three Months: and 'two Witnesses were made necessary, who 'should aver their Depositions to the Parties face. This seems to relate to the proceedings against the Duke of *Somerset*, in which the Witnesses did not appear, so that he lost the advantage of cross examining them: and many times Innocence and guilt discover themselves, when the Parties are confronted. Another Law past for Holy-days and Fasts. 'No days 'were to be esteemed *Holy* in their own na-'ture, but by reason of those Holy duties 'which ought to be done in them, for 'which they were dedicated to the service 'of God. Days were esteemed to be de-'dicated only to the honour of God, even 'those in which the Saints were comme-'morated; *Sundays*, and the other Holy-'days were to be religiously observed, and 'the Bishops were to proceed to Censures 'against offenders, only Labourers or Fi-'sher-

'ſher-men in caſe of neceſſity, might work 'on them: The Eves before them were 'to be Faſts, and abſtinence from Fleſh 'was enacted, both in *Lent*, and on *Fridays* 'and *Saturdays*. This liberty to Tradeſmen to work on theſe days, was abuſed to a publick profanation of them, but the ſtricter clauſes in the Act were little regarded. An Act paſt, empowering Church-wardens to gather Collections for the poor, and the Biſhops to proceed againſt ſuch as refuſed to contribute; which though it was a Bill that taxed the people, yet had its firſt riſe in the Houſe of Lords. A Bill was paſt by the Lords, but rejected by the Commons, for ſecuring the Clergy from falling under the laſh of a *Præmunire* by Ignorance; and that they ought to be firſt prohibited by the Kings Writ, and not be ſued unleſs they continued after that, ſtiff in their diſobedience. An Act paſt for the Marriage of the Clergy, four Earls and ſix Lords diſſenting from it: 'That where-'as the former Act about it was thought on-'ly a permiſſion of it, as ſome other unlaw-'ful things were connived at; upon which 'the Wives and Children of the Clergy 'were reproachfully uſed, and the Word 'of God was not heard with due reverence; 'therefore their Marriages were declared 'good and valid. The Marqueſs of *Northampton* procured an Act, confirming his ſecond Marriage, and that occaſioned another to be propoſed in the Houſe of Lords, that no man might put away his Wife and

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marry another, unless he were first Divorced; but it was laid aside by the Commons. The Bishoprick of *Westminster* 1551. was re-united to *London*, only the Collegiate Church was still continued.

An Act against Usury.

An Act past concerning Usury, repealing a Law made 37 *Hen.* 8. 'That none might 'take above 20 *per Cent.* All Usury, or 'profit for Money lent, was condemned, as 'contrary to the Word of God, and transgressors were to be imprisoned, and fined 'at pleasure. This has been since that time repealed, and several regulations have been made of the gain by lent Money, which is now reduced to 6 *per Cent.* The prohibitions of Usury by *Moses* have been thought Moral, others have believed that they were founded only on the equal division of the Land; and since it was then lawful to take Usury of a stranger, they have inferred that the Law was not Moral, otherwise it must be of perpetual obligation: It was also a great incitement to industry not to lend upon profit, and it made every man lay out his Money in some way of advantage, and their neighbourhood to *Tyre* and *Sidon* gave them a quick vent of their Manufacture, without which it is not easie to imagine how such vast numbers could have lived in so narrow a Countrey: So that these Laws seem'd to be only judiciary. It was thought at first suitable to the Brotherly kindness that ought to be among Christians, to lend without gain; but at last Canons were made against

againſt taking Uſury, and it was put among the reſerved Caſes. Mortgages were an invention to avoid that, for the uſe was paid as the Rent of the Land mortgaged, and not of the Money lent. Inventions alſo were found for thoſe who had no Land to mortgage, to make ſuch bargains that gain was made of the Money, and yet not in the way of Uſury. Theſe were tricks only to deceive people, and it is not eaſie to ſhew how the making ſuch a gain as holds proportion to the value of Land is immoral in it ſelf; if the rule ſetled by Law is not exceeded, and men deal not unmercifully with thoſe, who by inevitable accidents are diſabled from making payment. Another Bill was paſt againſt Simony, the reſerving penſions out of Benefices, and granting Advowſons while the Incumbent was yet alive, but it had not the Royal Aſſent. Simony has been oft complained of, and many Laws and Canons have been made againſt it, but new contrivances are ſtill found out to elude them all: And it is a diſeaſe that will ſtill hang on the Church, as long as Covetouſneſs and Ambition ferment ſo ſtrongly in the minds of Church-men.

A Repeal of the ſettlement of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s eſtate

A Bill was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, ſigned by the King, repealing the ſettlement of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Eſtate, 23 *Hen.* 8. made in favour of his Children, by his ſecond Wife, to exclude the Children by his firſt, of whom are deſcended the *Seimours* of *Devonſhire*, which

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some imputed to a Jealousie, he had of his first Wife, and others ascribed it to the power his second Wife had over him.

1552. But the Commons were very unwilling to void a settlement confirmed in Parliament, and so for Fifteen days it was debated: A new Bill was devised, and that was much altered, and the Bill was not finished till the day before the dissolution of the Parliament. The Lords added a Proviso, confirming the Duke of *Somerset*'s Attainder, but that was cast out by the Commons. Some Writings had been sealed with relation to a Marriage between the Earl of *Hartford*, the Dukes Son, and the Earl of *Oxford*'s Daughter, and the Lords sent down a Bill voiding these, but upon a division in the House of Commons, 68. were for it, and 69. were against it; so it was cast out. The House was now thin, when we find but 137. Members in it: but that is one of the effects of a long Parliament: many grow infirm, and many keep out of the way on design, and those who at their first Election were the Representatives of the People, after they have sat long, become a Cabal of Men, that pursue their own Interests, more than the Publick Service. *Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham*, upon some Informations, was put in Prison in the former year: The Duke of *Northumberland* intended to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North; and the accession of the Jurisdiction of the County *Palatine*, which is in that See, seemed

Tonstall is imprisoned.

seemed so considerable, that he resolved to ruine *Tonstall*, and so make way for that. He complied in all the changes that were made, though he had protested against them in Parliament; he writ also for the Corporal Presence, but with more Eloquence than Learning: He was a candid and moderate Man, and there was always a good correspondence between *Cranmer* and him: and now when the Bill was put in against him, he opposed it, and protested against it, by which he absolutely lost the Duke of *Northumberland*: but all the Popish complying Bishops went along with it. There were some Depositions read in the House of Lords to justifie it, but when the Bill with these was sent down to the Commons, they resolved to put a stop to that way of condemning Men without hearing them: so they sent a Message to the Lords, that he and his Accusers might be heard face to face, and that not being done, they let the Bill fall. By these Indications, it appeared that the House of Commons had little kindness for the Duke of *Northumberland*. Many of them had been much obliged to the Duke of *Somerset*; so it was resolved to have a new Parliament, and this which had sat almost five years, was on the 15*th*. of *April* dissolved.

A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws prepared.

The Convocation did confirm the Articles of Religion, that had been prepared the former year, and thus was the Reformation of Worship and Doctrine now

Book II. brought to such perfection, that since that time there has been very little alteration made in these. But another Branch
1552. of it was yet unfinished, and was now under consultation, touching the Government of the Church, and the rules of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Two Acts had passed in the former reign, and one in this, impowering XXXII. to revise all the Laws of the Church, and digest them into a body. King *Henry* issued out a Commission, and the Persons were named, who made some progress in it, as appears by some of *Cranmer*'s Letters to him. In this Reign it had been begun several times, but the Changes in the Government made it be laid aside. Thirty two were found to be too many for preparing the first draught, so Eight were appointed to make it ready for them: These were *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, *Cox* and *Peter Martyr*, *Traheron* and *Taylor*, and *Lucas* and *Gosnold*, two Bishops, two Divines, two Civilians, and two Common Lawyers; but it was generally believed, that *Cranmer* drew it all himself, and the rest only corrected what he designed. *Haddon* and *Cheek* were imployed to put it in *Latine*; in which they succeeded so well, and arrived at so true a purity in the *Roman* stile, that it looks like a work of the best Ages of that State, before their Language was corrupted with the mixture of barbarous terms and phrases, with which all the later Writings were filled, but none were more nauseously

ſeouſly rude than the Books of the Canon-Law. The Work was caſt into fifty one Titles, perhaps it was deſigned to bring it near the number of the Books, into which *Juſtinian* digeſted the *Roman* Law. The Eight finiſhed it, and offered it to the XXXII. who divided themſelves into Four Claſſes, every one was to offer his Corrections, and when it had paſt through them all, it was to be offered to the King for his Confirmation; but the King died before it was quite finiſhed, nor was it ever afterwards taken up: yet I ſhall think it no uſeleſs part of this work, to give an account of what was intended to be done in this matter, as well as I relate what was done in other things.

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The firſt Title of it was concerning the Catholick Faith: it was made Capital to deny the Chriſtian Religion. The Books of Scripture were reckoned up, and the Apocrypha left out. The four firſt General Councils were received, but both Councils and Fathers were to be ſubmitted to, only as they agreed with the Scriptures. The ſecond enumerates and condemns many Hereſies, extracted out of the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*, and the Tenets of the Anabaptiſts: and among others, thoſe who excuſed their lives, by the pretence of Predeſtination, are reckoned up. 3. The judgment of Hereſie was to lye in the Biſhops Court, except in exempted places. Perſons ſuſpected might be required to purge themſelves, and thoſe who

The heads of it.

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who were convicted, were to abjure and do Penance, but ſuch as were obſtinate, were declared Infamous, and not to have the benefit of the Law, or of making Teſtaments, and ſo all Capital proceedings for Hereſie were laid aſide. 4. Blaſphemy againſt God was to be puniſhed as obſtinate Hereſie. 5. The Sacraments, and other parts of the Paſtoral Charge, were to be decently performed. 6. All Magick, Idolatry, or Conjuring was to be puniſhed arbitrarily, and in caſe of obſtinacy, with Excommunication. 7. Biſhops were appointed once a Year to call all their Clergy together, to examine them concerning their Flocks: and Itinerant Preachers were to be often imployed for viſiting ſuch Precincts as might be put under their care. 8. All Marriages were to be after asking of Banes, and to be annulled, if not done according to the Book of Common Prayer. Corrupters of Virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third part of their Goods, and ſuffer Corporal puniſhment. Marriages made by force, or without conſent of Parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and Mothers were required to ſuckle their Children. 9. The degrees of Marriage were ſetled according to the *Levitical* Law, but ſpiritual kindred was to be no barr. 10. A Clergy-man guilty of Adultery, was to forfeit his Goods and Eſtate to his Wife and Children, or to ſome pious uſe; and to be

be baniſhed or Impriſoned during life: a Layman guilty of it, was to forfeit the half, and be baniſhed or Impriſoned during life: Wives that were guilty, were to be puniſhed in the ſame manner. The Innocent Party might marry again after a Divorce. Deſertion, or Mortal Enmity, or the conſtant perverſneſs of a Husband, might induce a Divorce, but little quarrels, nor a perpetual Diſeaſe might not do it; and the ſeparation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was never to be allowed. 11. Patrons were charged to give preſentations, without making bargains; to chooſe the fitteſt perſons, and not to make promiſes till the Livings were vacant. The Biſhops were required to uſe great ſtrictneſs in the Trial of thoſe, whom they ordained: all Pluralities and Non-reſidence were condemned, and all that were preſented were to purge themſelves of Simony by Oath. The twelfth and thirteenth were concerning the changing of Benefices. The fourteenth was concerning the manner of purgation upon common fame: all ſuperſtitious Purgations were condemned. Others followed, about Dilapidations, Elections and Collations. The nineteenth was concerning Divine Offices. The Communion was ordered to be every Sunday in Cathedrals, and a Sermon was to be in them in the afternoon: ſuch as received the Sacrament, were to give notice to the Miniſter the day before, that he might examine their Conſciences:

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ſciences: The Catechiſm was appointed to be explained for an Hour in the afternoon on Holy-days: After the Evening Prayer, the Poor were to be taken care of, Penances were to be enjoyned to ſcandalous Perſons, and the Miniſter was to confer with ſome of the Ancients of the People, concerning the ſtate of the Pariſh, That admonitions and cenſures might be applied, as there was occaſion given. The twentieth was concerning other Church-Officers. A Rural Dean was to be in every Precinct to watch over the Clergy, according to the Biſhops directions: Archdeacons were to be over them, and the Biſhop over all: who was to have yearly Synods, and viſit every third Year. His Family was to conſiſt of Clergymen, in imitation of St. *Auſtin*, and other ancient Biſhops, theſe he was to train up, for the ſervice of the Church: When Biſhops became infirm, they were to have Co-adjutors: Arch-biſhops were to do the Epiſcopal duties in their Dioceſs, and to viſit their Province. Every Synod was to begin with a Communion, and after that the Miniſters were to give an account of their Pariſhes, and follow ſuch directions as the Biſhop ſhould give them. Other heads followed concerning Church-Wardens; Tithes, Univerſities, Viſitations, and ſeveral ſorts of Cenſures. In the thirtieth, a large Scheme was drawn of Excommunication, which was intruſted to Churchmen, for keeping the Church pure, and

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was not to be inflicted, but for obstinacy in some gross fault: all causes upon which it was pronounced, were to be examined before the Minister of the Parish, a Justice of Peace, and some other Church-men. It was to be pronounced and intimated with great seriousness, and all were to be warned not to keep company with the person censured, under the like pains, except those of his own Family: Upon his continuing forty days obstinate under it, a Writ was to be issued out for Commitment, till the Sentence should be taken off. Such as had the King's Pardon for Capital offences, were yet liable to Church censures. Then followed the Office of absolving Penitents. They were to come to the Church-door, and crave admittance, and the Minister having brought them in, was to read a long discourse concerning Sin, Repentance, and the Mercies of God. Then the Party was to confess his sin, and to ask God, and the Congregation pardon; upon which the Minister was to lay his hands on his Head, and to pronounce the Absolution. Then a thanksgiving was to be offered to God, at the Communion Table, for the reclaiming that sinner. The other Heads of this work, relate to the other parts of the Law of those Courts. It is certain, that the abounding of Vice and Impiety, flows in a great measure from the want of that strictness of censure, which was the glory of the Christian Church in the Primitive times: and

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and it is a publick connivance at ſin, that there have not been more effectual ways taken for making ſinners aſhamed, and denying them the Priviledges of Chriſtians, till they have changed their ill courſe of life.

The Poverty of the Clergy.

There were at this time alſo remedies under conſideration, for the great miſery and poverty the Clergy were generally in: but the Laity were ſo much concerned to oppoſe all theſe, that there was no hope of bringing them to any good effect, till the King ſhould come to be of Age himſelf, and endeavour to recover again a competent maintenance, for the Clergy, out of their hands, who had devoured their Revenues. Both *Heath* and *Day*, the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, were this Year deprived of their Biſhopricks, by a Court of Delegates, that were all Laymen. But it does not appear, for what offences they were ſo cenſured. The Biſhopricks of *Glouceſter* and *Worceſter* were both united, and put under *Hooper*'s care; but ſoon after, the former was made an exempted Archdeaconry, and he was declared Biſhop only of *Worceſter*. In every See, as it fell vacant, the beſt Mannors were laid hold on by ſuch hungry Courtiers, as had the Intereſt to procure the Grant of them. It was thought, that the Biſhops Sees were ſo out of Meaſure enriched, that they could never be made poor enough: but ſuch haſt was made in ſpoiling them, that they were reduced to

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so low a condition, that it was hardly possible for a Bishop to subsist in them. If what had been thus taken from them, had been converted to good uses, such as the supplying the Inferiour Clergy, it had been some mitigation of so heinous a robbery: But their Lands were snatched up by Laymen, who thought of making no Compensation to the Church for the spoils thus made by them. Book II. 1552.

This Year the Reformation had some more footing in *Ireland* than formerly. *Henry* the VIII. had assumed to himself, by consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, the Title of *King of Ireland*: the former Kings of *England* having only been called *Lords* of it. The Popes and Emperours have pretended, that such Titles could be given only by them: The former said, all power in Heaven and Earth was given to Christ, and by consequence to his Vicar. The latter, as carrying the Title of *Roman* Emperour, pretended, that as they Anciently bestowed those Titles, so that devolved on them, who retained only the name and shadow of that Great Authority. But Princes and States have thought that they may bring themselves under what Titles they please. In *Ireland*, though the Kings of *England* were well obeyed within the *English* Pale, yet the *Irish* continued barbarous and uncivilised, and depended on the heads of their Names or Tribes, and were obedient, or did rebel as they directed them. In *Ulster* they had

Affairs in *Ireland*.

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a great dependance on *Scotland*: and there were some risings there, during the War with *Scotland*, which were quieted, by giving the Leading-men Pensions, and getting them to come and live within the *English* Pale. *Monluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, being then in *Scotland*, went over thither to engage them to raise new Commotions; but that had no effect: while he was there, his lasciviousness came to be discovered by an odd accident, for a Whore was brought to him by some *English* Friars, and secretly kept by him: but she, searching among his Clothes, fell on a Glass, full of somewhat, that was very odoriferous, and drank it off; which being discovered by the Bishop, too late, put him in a most violent passion: for it had been given him, as a Present, by *Soliman* the Magnificent, when he was Ambassadour at his Court. It was call'd the richest balm of *Egypt*, and valued at 2000. Crowns. His rage grew so boisterous, that all about him, discovered both his Passion, and Lewdness at once. The Reformation was set up in the *English* Pale, but had made a small progress among the *Irish*. This Year *Bale* was sent over to labour among them. He was a busie Writer, and was a Learned zealous Man, but did not write with the temper and decency that became a Divine. *Goodaker* was sent to be Primate of *Armagh*, and he was to be Bishop of *Ossory*. Two *Irish* Men were also promoted with them; who under-

undertook to advance the Reformation there. The Archbiſhop of *Dublin* intended to have ordained them by the old Pontifical, and all, except *Bale*, were willing it ſhould be ſo, but he prevailed that it ſhould be done according to the new book of Ordinations: after that he went into his Dioceſs, but found all there in dark Popery, and before he could make any Progreſs, the King's death put an end to his deſigns. There was a change ſetled in the Order of the Garter this Year. A Propoſition was made the former year, to conſider how the Order might be freed from the Superſtition, that was ſuppoſed to be in it. St. *George*'s fighting with a Dragon, lookt like a Legend forged in dark Ages, to ſupport the humour of Chivalry, then very high in the world. The ſtory was neither credible in it ſelf, nor vouched by any good Author: nor was there any of that name mentioned by the Ancients, but *George* the *Arrian* Biſhop, that was put in *Alexandria*, when *Athanaſius* was baniſhed. Some Knights were appointed to prepare a Reformation of the Order: and the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, and Sir *Andrew Dudley* were this Year Inſtalled according to the New Model. It was appointed to be called in all time coming, the Order of the *Garter*, and no more the Order of St. *George*; inſtead of the former *George*, there was to be on the one ſide of the Jewel, a Man on Horſeback, with a Bible on his Swords

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A Change in the Garter.

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point: On the Sword was written *Protectio*, and on the Bible *Verbum Dei*; and on the Reverse a Shield, and *Fides* written upon it: to shew that they would maintain the Word of God, both with offensive and defensive Weapons: but all this was reversed by Queen *Mary*, and the old Statutes were again revived, which continue to this day.

Northumberlands severity.

There was at this time a strict enquiry made into the accounts of all, who had been imployed in the former part of this Reign; for it was believed, that the Visitors had embezel'd much of the Plate of the Churches: and these were the Creatures of the Duke of *Somerset*, which made *Northumberland* prosecute them more vehemently: On none did this fall more severely, than on the Lord *Paget*, who was not only fined in 6000 *l.* but was degraded from the Order of the Garter, with a particular mark of Infamy on his Extraction; yet he was afterwards restored to it with as much honour. He had been a constant friend to the Duke of *Somerset*, and that made his Enemies execute so severe a Revenge on him. *Northumberland* was preparing matters for a Parliament, and being a Man of an Insolent temper, no less abject when he was low, than lifted up with prosperity, he thought extream severity was the only way to bring the Nation easily to comply with his administration of affairs; but this, though

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it ſucceeded for ſome time, yet when he needed it moſt, it turned violently upon him: for nothing can work on a free People ſo much, as Juſtice and Clemency in the Government. Book II. 1552.

A great deſign was ſetled this Year, which proved to be the foundation of all that Wealth and Trade, that has ſince that time flouriſhed ſo much in this Nation. *Henry* the III. had been much ſupported in his Wars, by the aſſiſtance he got from the Free-Towns of *Germany*, in recompence of which he gave them great Priviledges in *England*. They were formed here in a Corporation, and lived in the *Still* Yard near *London*-Bridge. They had gone ſometimes beyond their Charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited, but by great Preſents they purchaſed new ones. They traded in a Body, and ſo ruined others by under ſelling them; and by making Preſents at *Court*, or lending great Summs, they had the Government on their ſide. Trade was now riſing much, Courts began to be more Magnificent, ſo that there was a greater conſumption, particularly of Cloth, than formerly. *Antwerp* and *Hamburgh* lying, the one near the mouth of the *Rhine*, and the other at the mouth of the *Elbe*, had then the chief Trade in theſe Parts of the World; and their Factors in the *Still*-Yard, had all the Markets in *England* in their hands; and ſet ſuch Prices, both on Trade flouriſhes much.

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what they imported or exported, as they pleaſed, and broke all other Merchants to ſuch a degree, that the former Year they had ſhipped 44000. Clothes, and all the other Traders had not ſhipped above 1100. So the Merchant-adventurers complained of the *Still*-Yard Men, and after ſome hearings, it was judged that they had forfeited their Charter, and that their Company was diſſolved: nor could all the applications of the *Hanſe* Towns, ſeconded by the Emperour's Interceſſion, procure them a new Charter. But a greater deſign was propoſed, after this was ſetled; which was to open two free *Mart* Towns in *England*, and to give them ſuch Priviledges, as the free Towns in the Empire had, and by that means to draw the Trade to *England*: *Southampton* and *Hull* were thought the fitteſt. This was ſo far entertained by the young King, that he writ a large Paper, ballancing the conveniencies and inconveniencies of it, but all that fell with his Life.

Cardan in *England.*

This year *Cardan*, the great Philoſopher of that Age, paſt through *England*, as he returned from *Scotland*. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* had ſent for him out of *Italy*, to cure him of a Dropſie: in which he had good ſucceſs; but being much converſant in Aſtrology and Magick, he told him he could not change his fate, and that he was to be hanged. He waited on King *Edward* as he returned, and was

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so charmed with his great knowledge and rare qualities, that he always spake of him, as the rarest Person he had ever seen: and after his death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he writ the following Character of him. Book II. 1552.

'All the Graces were in him: he had 'many Tongues, when he was yet but a 'Child; together with the *English*, his 'Natural Tongue, he had both *Latin* and '*French*; nor was he ignorant, as I hear, 'of the *Greek*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* and 'perhaps some more; But for the *Eng-* 'lish, *French* and *Latin*, he was exact in 'them, and was apt to learn every thing. Nor 'was he ignorant of Logick, of the Prin- 'ciples of Natural Philosophy, nor of 'Musick; The sweetness of his Temper 'was such as became a Mortal, his Gra- 'vity becoming the Majesty of a King, 'and his Disposition was suitable to his high 'Degree: In sum, that Child was so bred, 'had such parts, and was of such expectati- 'on, that he looked like a Miracle of a 'Man: These things are not spoken Rhe- 'torically, and beyond the Truth, but are 'indeed short of it. And afterwards he adds, 'He was a marvellous Boy; when 'I was with him, he was in the 15*th.* year 'of his Age, in which he spake *Latin* as 'politely, and as promptly as I did: He 'asked me, what was the subject of my 'Book, *de Rerum varietate*, which I dedi- 'cated to him? I answered, that in the

Book II. 1552.

'first Chapter, I gave the true cause of 'Comets, which had been long enquired 'into, but was never found out before. 'What is it, said he? I said, it was the 'concourse of the Light of wandring 'Stars. He answered, How can that be, 'since the Stars move in different moti-'ons? How comes it that the Comets are 'not soon dissipated, or do not move af-'ter them, according to their motions. To 'this I answered, they do move after them, 'but much quicker than they, by reason of 'the different aspect, as we see in Crystal, 'or when a Rain-bow rebounds from a 'Wall: for a little change makes a great 'difference of place. But the King said, 'How can that be, where there is no sub-'ject to receive that Light, as the Wall is 'the subject for the Rain-bow? To this 'I answered, That this was as in the Mil-'ky way, or where many Candles were 'lighted, the middle place, where their 'shining met, was white and clear. From 'this little taste, it may be imagined what 'he was.' And indeed the ingenuity, and 'sweetness of his Disposition had raised 'in all good, and learned Men the grea-'test expectation of him possible. He be-'gan to love the Liberal Arts before he 'knew them, and to know them before 'he could use them: and in him there 'was such an Attempt of Nature, that not 'only *England*, but the World hath rea-'son to lament his being so early snatcht 'away. How truly was it said of such

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'extraordinary Persons, that their Lives 'are short, and seldom do they come to 'be old? He gave us an Essay of Vertue, 'though he did not live to give a Pat- 'tern of it. When the gravity of a King 'was needful, he carried himself like an old 'Man, and yet he was always affable, and 'gentle, as became his Age. He played 'on the Lute; he medled in affairs of State: 'and for Bounty, he did in that emulate 'his Father; though he, even when he en- 'deavoured to be too good, might appear 'to have been bad: but there was no 'ground of suspecting any such thing in 'the Son, whose mind was cultivated by 'the study of Philosophy.

These extraordinary blossoms gave but too good reason to fear, that a fruit which ripened so fast, could not last long.

In *Scotland* there was a great change in the Government: the Governor was dealt with, to resign it to the Queen Dowager, who returned this Year from *France*, and was treated with all that respect that was due to her rank, as she past through *England*. She brought Letters to the Governour, advising him to resign it to her, but in such terms, that he saw he must either do it, or maintain his power by force: he was a soft Man, and was the more easily wrought on, because his ambitious Brother was then desperately ill: but when he recovered, and found what

Affairs in *Scotland*.

Book II.

1552. he had done, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure at it in very vehement terms. The young Queen of *Scotlands* Uncles propoſed a Match for her with the *Dolphin*, which had been long in diſcourſe, and the King of *France* inclined much to it. Conſtable *Monmorancy* oppoſed it: He obſerved how much *Spain* ſuffered, in having ſo many Territories at a diſtance: though thoſe were the beſt Provinces of *Europe*. So he reckoned the keeping *Scotland*, would coſt *France* more than ever it could be worth: A Revolt to *England* would be eaſie, and the ſending Fleets and Armies thither would be a vaſt charge: He therefore adviſed the King, rather to marry her to ſome of the Princes of the Blood, and to ſend them to *Scotland*, and ſo by a ſmall Penſion, that Kingdom would be preſerved in the Intereſts of *France*. But the Conſtable was a known Enemy to the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and ſo thoſe wiſe advices were little conſidered, and were imputed to the fears he had of ſo great a ſtrengthning, as this would have given to their Intereſt at Court. In *Scotland* there were now two Factions: the one was headed by the Archbiſhop, and all the Clergy were in it, who were jealous of the Queen, as leaning too much to ſome Lords, who were believed to incline to the Reformation; of whom the Prior of St. *Andrews*, afterwards the Earl of *Murray* was the chief: Theſe offered to ſerve the Queen in all her deſigns; in particular, in ſending the Matrimonial

monial Crown to *France*, upon their young Queens Marriage with the *Dolphin*, if she would defend them from the Violence of the Clergy in matters of Religion, which being made generally subservient to other Interests in all Courts, this was well entertained by the Queen, though she was otherwise very zealous in her own Religion. Book II. 1552.

There was a great and unexpected turn this year, in the affairs of *Germany*. The Emperour's Ministers began to entertain some jealousie of *Maurice*, so that the Duke of *Alva* advised the Emperour to call for him, and so to take him off from the head of the Army; and then make him give an account of some suspicious passages, in his treating with other Princes: but the Bishop of *Arras* said, he had both his Secretaries in pay, and he knew by their means all his Negotiations, and relied so on their Intelligence, that he prevailed with the Emperour not to provoke him, by seeming distrustful of him. But *Maurice* knew all this, and deluded his Secretaries, so that he seemed to open to them all his secretest Negotiations; yet he really let them know nothing, but what he was willing should come to the Emperor's ears, and had managed his Treaties so secretly, that they had not the least suspicion of them. At last the Emperour was so possest with the Advertisements that were sent him from all parts, that he writ to *Maurice* to come and clear himself; The affairs in *Germany*:

Book II. 1552.

himself; and then he refined it higher: for he presently left the Army, and took Post, with one of his Secretaries, and a small Retinue: after a Days riding, he complained of a pain in his side, so that he could not go on, but sent his Secretary with his excuses: This appearance of confidence made the Emperour lay down all his jealousies of him. He had also sent his Ambassadours to *Trent*, and had ordered *Melanchthon*, and some Divines to follow them slowly, and as soon as a safe conduct was obtained, to go to *Trent*. The Emperour's Agents had a hard task, between the Legats and the *Lutherans*: they dealt with the Legates to hear the other; but they answered, that it was against the rules of the Church, to treat with professed Hereticks. The *Lutherans* on the other hand, made such high demands, that they had as much to do to moderate them: they prest them not to ask too much at once, and promised, that if they would proceed prudently, the Emperour would concur with them, to pull down the Popes power, and to reform abuses. A Safe-Conduct was demanded, such as had been granted by the Council of *Basil*, that their Divines might have a decisive voice, and the free exercise of their Religion, and that all things might be examined according to the Scriptures. But the Legates abhorred the name of that Council, that had acted so much against the Papal authority, and had granted such a

a Conduct, that ſo they might unite *Germany*, and engage the Empire to joyn with them againſt the Pope. The Ambaſſadours from the *Lutherans* were heard in a General Congregation, where they gave the Council a very cold Complement, and deſired a Safe-Conduct. The Pope underſtood, that the Emperor was reſolved to ſet on the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, to bear down the power of the Court of *Rome*, therefore he united himſelf to *France*, and reſolved to break the Council on the firſt occaſion, upon which he ordered the Legates to proceed to ſettle the doctrine; hoping the Proteſtants would upon that deſpair of favour, and go away. But while theſe things were in agitation, the War of *Germany* broke out, and the Legates ſuſpended the Council for two Years.

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After this, I ſhall have no occaſion to ſpeak more of this Council, ſo I ſhall offer this remark here, that this Council had been much deſired both by Princes and Biſhops, in hopes that differences of Religion would have been compoſed in it, and that the Corruptions of the Court of *Rome* would have been reformed by it, and that had made the Popes very apprehenſive of it: but ſuch was the cunning of the Legates, the number of *Italian* Biſhops, and the diſſenſions of the Princes of *Europe*, that it had effects quite contrary to what all ſides expected. The breach in Religion was put paſt reconci-

An Account of the Council of *Trent*.

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Book II. 1552.

ling, by the positive decisions they made: the abuses of the Court of *Rome* were confirmed by the Proviso's, made in favours of the Priviledges of the Apostolick See: and the World was so cured of their longings for a General Council, that none has been desired since that time. The History of that Council was writ with great exactness and Judgment, by Father *Paul* of *Venice*, while the thing was yet fresh in all Mens memories; and though it discovered the whole secret of transactions there, yet none set himself to write against it, for Forty Years after: of late then *Pallavicini* undertook it, and upon the credit of many Memorials, he in many things contradicts Father *Paul*; but as many of these are likely enough to be forged, so in the main of the History, they both agree so far, that it is manifest, things were not fairly carried, and that all matters were managed by Intreagues and secret practices, in which it will be very hard to discern such a particular conduct of the Holy Ghost, as should induce the World to submit to their authority: and indeed *Pallavicini* was aware of this, and therefore he lays down this for a foundation; 'That there must be a Prin-'cipality in the Church, supported by 'great Wealth and Dignity; and many 'practices are now necessary that are con-'trary to what were in the Primitive time, 'which was the Infancy of the Church, 'and ought not to be a rule to it now,

'when

'when it is grown up to its full ſtate.

Maurice declared for the liberty of *Germany*, and took *Ausburg*, and ſeveral other Towns. The King of *France* fell alſo in, upon the Empire, with a great Force, and by ſurpriſe made himſelf Maſter of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, and thought to have got *Strasburg*. *Maurice* ſent his demands to the Emperour for the Landgrave's liberty, and for reſtoring the freedom of the Empire: and the Emperour being ſlow in making anſwer, he marched on to *Inſpruck*, where he ſurpriſed a Poſt, and was within two Miles of him, before he was aware of it, ſo that the Emperor was forced to fly away by Torch-light: and from thence went to *Italy*. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly Inſtrumental in the ruine of the Empire, did now again aſſert its freedom; and all the Emperor's great deſign on *Germany* was now ſo blaſted, that he could never after this put any life in it: he was forced to diſcharge his Priſoners, and to call in the Proſcriptions, and after ſome Treaty, at laſt the Edict of *Paſſaw* was made, by which the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion was granted to the Princes and Towns: and ſo did that ſtorm, which had almoſt overwhelmed the Princes of that Perſwaſion end, without any other conſiderable effect, beſides the Tranſlation of the Electoral dignity from *John* to *Maurice*. The Emperour's misfortunes encreaſed on him, for againſt all reaſon

Book II.

1552. The Emperour's deſigns are blaſted.

Book II

reason he besieged *Metz* in *December*, but after he had ruined his Army in it, he was forced to raise the Siege. Upon that he retired into *Flanders*, in such discontent, that for some time he would admit none to come to him. Here it was believed, he first formed that design, which some years after he put in execution, of forsaking the World, and exchanging the Pomp of a Court, with the retirement of a Monastery. This strange and unlookt for turn in his affairs, gave a great demonstration of an over-ruling Providence, that governs all humane affairs, and of that particular care that God had of the Reformation, in recovering it, when it seemed to be gone, without all hope, in *Germany*.

1552.

1553. In the beginning of this Year, there was a regulation made of the Privy Council. Several Committees had proper work assigned them, and directions given them for their conduct; of which there is an account extant, corrected with King *Edward*'s hand. A new Parliament was called, and sat down the first of *March*; a motion was made for a Subsidy of two tenths, and two fifteenths to be paid in two years: at the passing of the Bill there was a great debate about it in the House of Commons, which seems to have been concerning the Preamble, for it contained a high accusation of the Duke of *Somerset*'s administration, and was set on by the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Party, to let the King

King see how well pleased the Representative of the Nation was with his fall. Book II.

The Sons of the Nobility and Gentry had ordinarily Prebends given them, under this pretence, that they intended to follow their studies, and make themselves capable of entring into Orders: and this was like to become a great prejudice to the Clergy, when so many of the dignities of the Church were in Lay-hands. Upon this the Bishops procured a Bill to be past in the House of Lords, that none might hold these, that was not either Priest or Deacon: but at the third reading, the Commons threw it out. 1553. A Bill proposed that Laymen should not hold Church-dignities.

Another Bill past for suppressing the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and erecting two new Sees, the one at *Durham*, and the other at *Newcastle*; the former was to have 2000. and the latter 1000. Marks Revenue; there was also a Dean and a Chapter to be endowed at *Newcastle*. *Ridley* was designed to be made Bishop of *Durham*. But though the secular Jurisdiction of that See was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, yet the King's death stopt the further progress of this affair. *Tonstall* was deprived, as *Heath* and *Day* were, by a Court of Lay-delegates, upon the Informations that had been brought against him of Misprision of Treason, and was kept in the *Tower* till Queen *Mary* set him at liberty. The King granted a General Pardon *An Act* suppressing the Bishop of *Durham*.

Book II. 1553. Pardon, in which the Commons moved the Lords, that ſome words might be put, though that is not uſual to be done; for Acts of Pardon, are commonly paſt without any Changes made in them: After the paſſing theſe Acts, the Parliament was diſſolved on the laſt of *March*. For it ſeems either the Duke of *Northumberland* was not pleaſed with the proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, or he was reſolved to call frequent Parliaments, and not continue the ſame, as the Duke of *Somerſet* had done.

Another Viſitation. Viſitors were ſent after this to examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalices of Silver, with Linnen, for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices, and to bring in all other things of value to the Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, and to ſell the reſt, and give it to the Poor. This was a new rifling of Churches, by which it ſeemed ſome reſolved not to ceaſe, till they had brought them to a Primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers intended to bring them to a Primitive purity. The King ſet his hand to theſe Inſtructions, from which ſome have inferred, that he was ill principled in himſelf, when at ſuch an Age, he joyned his Authority to ſuch proceedings. But he was now ſo ill, that it is probable, he ſet his hand to every thing, that the Council ſent him, without examining anxiouſly what it might import.

Skip

1553. Bishops made by the Kings Patent.

Skip, Bishop of *Hereford*, dying, *Harley* succeeded him, and was the last that was promoted by the Kings Letters Patents; as *Barlow* was the first, being removed by them, from St. *Davids* to *Bath* and *Wells*. The form of the Patent was, 'That the King appointed such a one to 'be Bishop during his Natural life, or as 'long as he behaved himself well: and 'gave him power to ordain or deprive 'Ministers, to exercise Ecclesiastical Juris-'diction, and perform all the other parts 'of the Episcopal Function, that by the 'Word of God were committed to Bi-'shops, and this they were to do in the 'King's Name, and by his Authority. *Ferrar* was put in St. *Davids*, upon *Barlow*'s removal: he was an indiscreet Man, and drew upon himself the dislike of his Prebendaries, and many complaints were made of him, which, if true, discovered great weakness in him: at last he was sued in a *Premunire*, for acting in his own name, and not in the King's, in his Courts; and was put in Prison, where he continued, till *Morgan*, that was his chief Accuser, being put in his place by Queen *Mary*, condemned him to the Fire; which turned all former Censures, that he had given occasion for, by his simplicity, into esteem and compassion. By these Patents, the Episcopal Power was still declared to flow from Christ; they were only presentations to Bishopricks, such as other Patrons gave to inferiour Benefices; and

Book II.

1553. such as Christian Princes in *France*, and other Kingdoms gave in elder times, for Bishopricks. Their Courts were ordered to be held in the King's Name; but all this was repealed by Queen *Mary*: and when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, instead of reviving this, she revived that made in the 25 *Hen.* 8. by which Bishops were authorised to hold their Courts, as they had done formerly: and though Queen *Mary*'s repeal of the Statute of this King, was afterwards taken away, so that this Act seemed thereby to be again in force; yet Queen *Elizabeth*'s reviving that made by her Father, was understood to be, in effect, a Repeal of it: so that in King *James*'s time, when some scruples were started about it, the Judges did not think it necessary to make an Explanatory Act, to clear the matter, for the thing did not seem to admit of any debate. A new and fuller Catechism was this Year composed by *Poinet*, and was published with the Kings approbation.

Affairs in *Germany*.

The state of affairs beyond Sea, was now quite turned, so that the Progress the *French* had made, set the *English* Council on mediating a Peace. The Emperour represented to them the danger the *Netherlands* were in, since the *French* were Masters of *Metz*, and so could in a great measure divide them from the assistance, that they might receive from the Empire; therefore he desired that according

cording to the Ancient Leagues, between *England*, and the Houſe of *Burgundy*, they would now engage againſt the *French*. The Council ſent over Ambaſſadours, both to the Emperour, and the *French* King, to mediate. The Emperour was then indiſpoſed, but his Miniſters complained much, that the *French* had broken with them perfidiouſly, when they were making ſolemn proteſtations, that they intended to obſerve the Peace religiouſly. The *Germans* propoſed a League between the Emperour, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, and the Princes of the Empire. The Emperour moved that the *Netherlands* might be comprehended within the perpetual League of the Empire; but the Princes refuſed that, ſince thoſe Provinces were like to be the perpetual Seat of War, when ever it ſhould break out between *France* and *Spain*; unleſs they might have reciprocal advantages, for expoſing themſelves to ſo much danger and charge. The *French* made extravagant Propoſitions, by which it appeared, that their King had a mind to carry on the War. They askt the reſtitution of *Millan*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, and the Soveraignty of the *Netherlands*; and that *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun* ſhould continue under the Protection of *France*. The *Engliſh* would not receive theſe as Mediators, but took them only as a Paper of News, and ſo ordered their Ambaſſadours to communicate them to the Emperour. But the King's death broke off this Negotiation.

Book II. 1553.

Book II.

1553. The Kings ſickneſs.

He had contracted great Colds by Violent Exerciſes, which in *January* ſetled in a deep Cough: and all Medicines proved ineffectual. There was a ſuſpicion taken up, and ſpread over all *Europe*, that he was poiſoned: but no certain grounds appear, for juſtifying that. During his ſickneſs, *Ridley* preached before him, and among other things, run out much on works of Charity, and the duty of Men of high condition, to be Eminent in good works. The King was much touched with this; ſo, after Sermon, he ſent for the Biſhop, and treated him with ſuch reſpect, that he made him ſit down, and be covered: then he told him, what Impreſſion his Exhortation had made on him, and therefore he deſired to be directed by him, how to do his duty in that matter. *Ridley* took a little time to conſider of it, and after ſome conſultation with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, he brought the King a Scheme of ſeveral Foundations, one for the ſick and wounded, another for ſuch as were wilfully idle, or were mad, and a third for Orphans: ſo he endowed St. *Bartholomew*'s Hoſpital for the firſt, *Bridewell* for the ſecond, and *Chriſt*'s Church near *Newgate* for the third; and he enlarged the Grant he made the former year, for St. *Thomas*'s Hoſpital in *Southwark*. The Statutes and Warrants relating to theſe, were not finiſhed before the 26. of *June*, though he gave order to make all the haſt that was poſſible: and

and when he ſet his hand to them, he bleſt God that had prolonged his life, till he finiſhed his deſigns concerning them. Theſe Houſes have, by the good Government, and great Charities of the City of *London*, continued to be ſo uſeful, and grown to be ſo well-endowed, that now they may be well reckoned among the Nobleſt in *Europe*. Book II. 1553.

The King bore his ſickneſs with great ſubmiſſion to the will of God; and ſeemed concerned in nothing ſo much, as the ſtate that Religion, and the Church would be in, after his death. The Duke of *Suffolk* had only three Daughters, the eldeſt of theſe was now married to Lord *Guilford Dudley*; the ſecond to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldeſt Son; and the third, that was crooked, to one *Keys*. The Duke of *Northumberland*, for ſtrengthning his Family, married alſo his own two Daughters, the one to Sir *Henry Sidney*, and the other to the Earl of *Huntington*'s eldeſt Son. He grew to be much hated by the People, and the jealouſie of the King's being poiſoned, was faſtened on him. But he regarded theſe things little, and reſolved to improve the fears the King was in concerning Religion, to the advantage of Lady *Jane*. The King was eaſily perſwaded to order the Judges, and his Learned Council to put ſome Articles, which he had ſigned, for the ſucceſſion of the Crown, in the common form of Law. They anſwered, The Patents for the ſucceſſion to the Crown.

Book II.

1553. swered, that the Succession being setled by Act of Parliament, could not be taken away, except by Parliament: yet the King required them to do what he commanded them. But next time they came to the Council, they declared, that it was made Treason to change the Succession by an Act past in this Reign, so they could not meddle with it. *Mountague* was chief Justice, and spake in the name of the rest. *Northumberland* fell out in a great passion against him, calling him *Traitor*, for refusing to obey the King's commands: for that is always the language of an Arbitrary Minister, when he acts against Law. But the Judges were not shaken by his threatnings; so they were again brought before the King, who sharply rebuked them for their delays, but they said, all that they could do, would be of no force, without a Parliament, yet they were required to do it, in the best manner they could: At last *Mountague* desired they might have a Pardon for what they were to do, & that being granted, all the Judges, except *Gosnald* and *Hales*, agreed to the Patent, & deliver'd their Opinions, that the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal to it, and that then it would be good in Law; yet the former of these two was at last wrought on, so *Hales* was the only Man that stood out to the last: who, though he was a zealous Protestant, yet would not give his Opinion against his Conscience, upon any consideration whatsoever. The Privy Councellours

lours were next required to set their hand to it: *Cecyl*, in a Relation he writ of this transaction, says, that hearing some of the Judges declare so positively, that it was against Law, he refused to set his hand to it, as a Privy Councellour, but signed it only as a Witness to the King's subscription. *Cranmer* stood out long, he came not to Council when it was past there, and refused to consent to it, when he was prest to it; for he said, he would never have a hand in disinheriting his late Master's Daughters. The young dying King was at last set on him, and by his Importunity prevailed with him to do it, and so the Seal was put to the Patents. The King's distemper continued to encrease, so that the Physicians despaired of his Recovery. A confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put in her hands, but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightned the jealousie of the Duke of *Northumberland*, that had introduced her, and put the Physicians away. At last, to Crown his designs, he got the King to write to his Sisters, to come and divert him in his sickness: and the matter of the Exclusion had been carried so secretly, that they apprehending no danger, had begun their Journey.

In the 6th. of *July*, the King felt death approaching, and prepared himself for it, in a most devout manner: He was often heard offering up Prayers and Ejaculations

The Kings death and Character.

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to God: Particularly a few Moments before he died, he prayed earnestly that God would take him out of this wretched life, and committed his Spirit to him, he interceded very fervently for his Subjects, that God would preserve *England* from Popery, and maintain his true Religion among them; soon after that, he breathed out his Innocent Soul, being in Sir *Henry Sidney*'s arms. Endeavours were used to conceal his death, for some days, on design to draw his Sisters into the snare, before they should be aware of it, but that could not be done.

Thus died *Edward* the VI. in the sixteenth Year of his Age. He was counted the wonder of that time: he was not only Learned in the Tongues, and the Liberal Sciences, but knew well the state of his Kingdom. He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men of the Nation; he studied Fortification, and understood the Mint well: he knew the Harbours in all his Dominions, with the depth of Water, and way of coming into them. He understood foreign affairs so well, that the Ambassadours that were sent into *England*, published very extraordinary things of him, in all the Courts of *Europe*. He had great quickness of apprehension, but being distrustful of his Memory, he took Notes of every thing he heard, that was considerable, in *Greek* Characters; that those about him might not understand what he writ, which he afterwards Copied out fair in the Journal that he kept.

His

His Virtues were wonderful, when he was made believe, that his Unkle was guilty of conspiring the death of the other Counsellours, he upon that abandoned him. *Barnaby Fitzpatrick* was his Favourite, and when he sent him to travel, he writ oft to him, to keep good Company, to avoid excess and Luxury, and to improve himself in those things, that might render him capable of Imployment, at his return. He was afterwards made Lord of Upper-*Ossory* in *Ireland*, by Queen *Elizabeth*, and did answer the hopes that this excellent King had of him. He was very merciful in his nature, which appeared in his unwillingness to sign the Warrant, for burning the Maid of *Kent*. He took great care to have his debts well paid, reckoning that a Prince who breaks his Faith, and loses his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrust, and extreme contempt. He took special care of the Petitions, that were given him by poor and oppress People. But his great zeal for Religion crowned all the rest. It was not only an angry heat about it that acted him, but it was a true tenderness of conscience, founded on the love of *God*, & his Neighbors. Book II. 1553

These extraordinary qualities set off with great sweetness, and affability, made him be universally beloved by all his People. Some called him their *Josias*, others *Edward the Saint*, and others called him the *Phœnix* that rise out of his Mothers ashes; and all People concluded, that the sins of *England* must have

Book II. 1553. have been very great, since they provoked God to deprive the Nation of so signal a blessing, as the rest of his Reign would have, by all appearance, proved. *Ridley*, and the other good Men of that time, made great lamentations of the Vices, that were grown then so common, that Men had past all shame in them. Luxury, Oppression, and a hatred of Religion had over-run the higher rank of People, who gave a countenance to the Reformation, meerly to rob the Church, but by that and their other practices, were become a great scandal to so good a work. The inferiour sort were so much in the power of the Priests, who were still, notwithstanding their outward Compliance, Papists in heart, and were so much offended at the spoil they saw made of all good endowments, without putting other and more useful ones in their room, that they who understood little of Religion, laboured under great prejudices against every thing that was advanced by such tools. And these things, as they provoked God highly, so they disposed the People much to that sad Catastrophe, which is to be the subject of the next Book.

BOOK

BOOK III.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF Queen MARY.

BY King *Edward*'s death, the Crown devolved, according to Law, on his Eldeſt Siſter *Mary*, who was within half a days Journey to the *Court*, when ſhe had notice given her by the Earl of *Arundel*, of her Brother's death, and of the Patent for Lady *Jane*'s ſucceſſion, and this prevented her falling into the Trap, that was laid for her. Upon that ſhe retired to *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, both to be near the Sea, that ſhe might eſcape Qu. *Mary* ſucceeds.

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1553. escape to *Flanders*, in case of a misfortune; and because the slaughter that was made of *Kets* People, by *Northumberland*, begat him the hatred of the People in that Neighbourhood. Before she got thither, she wrote on the *9th.* of *July*, to the Council, and let them know she understood, that her Brother was dead, by which she succeeded to the Crown, but wondred that she heard not from them; she knew well what Consultations they had engaged in, but she would pardon all that was done, to such as would return to their duty, and proclaim her Title to the Crown. By this it was found, that the Kings death could be no longer kept secret; so some of the Privy Council went to Lady *Jane*, and acknowledged her their *Queen*. The news of the King's death afflicted her much, and her being raised to the Throne, rather encreased, than lessened her trouble. She was a very extraordinary Person, both for Body and Mind. She had learned both the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, to great perfection; and delighted much in study. She read *Plato* in *Greek*, and drunk in the Precepts of true Philosophy so early, that as she was not tainted with the levities, not to say Vices of those of her Age and condition, so she seemed to have attained to the practice of the highest notions of Philosophy: for in those sudden turns of her condition, as she was not exalted with the prospect of a Crown, so she was as little cast down, when her Palace was made her Prison.

The

The only passion she shewed, was, that of the Noblest kind, in the concern she expressed for her Father and Husband, who fell with her, and seemingly on her account, though really *Northumberland*'s ambition, and her Father's weakness ruined her. She rejected the offer of the Crown, when it was first made her; she said, she knew, that of right it belonged to the late King's Sisters, and so she could not with a good Conscience assume it; but it was told her, that both the Judges and Privy Councellours had declared, that it fell to her according to Law. This, joyned with the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philosophy in him, made her submit to it. Upon this XXI. Privy Councellours set their hands to a Letter to Queen *Mary*, letting her know that Queen *Jane* was now their Soveraign, and that the Marriage between her Father and Mother was null, so she could not succeed to the Crown: and therefore they required her to lay down her Pretensions, and to submit to the settlement now made: and if she gave a ready obedience to these Commands, they promised her much favour. Book III 1553.

The day after this they proclaimed *Jane*. In it they set forth, 'That the late King 'had by Patent excluded his Sisters, that 'both were illegitimated by sentences past 'in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and confirm-'ed in Parliament, and at best they were 'only his Sisters by the half blood, and so 'not

But Lady *Jane Gray* is proclaimed.

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'not inheritable by the Law of *England*. 'There was alſo cauſe to fear, that they 'might marry ſtrangers, and change the 'Laws, and ſubject the Nation to the Ty- 'ranny of the See of *Rome*. Next to them, 'the Crown fell to the Dutcheſs of *Suf- 'folk*; and it was provided, that if ſhe 'ſhould have no Sons, when the King died, 'the Crown ſhould devolve on her Daugh- 'ter, who was born and married in the 'Kingdom: Upon which they aſſerted her 'right, and ſhe promiſed to maintain the true 'Religion, and the Laws of the Land. This was not received with the ſhouts ordinary on ſuch occaſions. A *Vintners* Boy expreſſed ſome ſcorn, when he heard it, for which he was next day ſet on a Pillory, and his Ears were nailed to it, to ſtrike terror in the reſt.

Cenſures paſt upon that.

Many deſcanted variouſly on this Proclamation. Thoſe who thought that the King had his power immediately from God, ſaid, that then it muſt deſcend in the way of Inheritance, and ſince the King's two Siſters were both under ſentences of illegitimation, they ſaid the next Heir in blood muſt ſucceed, and that was the young Queen of *Scotland*; but ſhe being of the Church of *Rome*, claimed nothing upon the ſentence againſt Queen *Mary*, eſteeming it unlawful, and null: yet afterwards ſhe made her claim againſt Queen *Elizabeth*. Others ſaid, that though a Prince were named immediately by God, yet upon great reaſons he might alter the Succeſ-

Succeſſion from its natural courſe: for ſo *David* preferred *Solomon* to *Adonijah*. In *England*, the Kings claimed the Crown by a long Preſcription, confirmed by many Laws, and not from a divine deſignation: and therefore they inferred, that the Act of Parliament for the Succeſſion ought to take place, and that by vertue of it, the two Siſters ought to ſucceed: and it was ſaid, that as the King could limit the Prerogative, ſo he could likewiſe limit the ſucceſſion. It was alſo ſaid, that *Charles Brandon*'s Iſſue by the *French* Queen, was unlawful, becauſe he was then married to one *Mortimer*; yet this was not declared in any Court, and ſo could not take place. Others ſaid, if the Right of blood could not be cut off, why was the *Scotch* Queen cut off? and her being born out of the Kingdom, could not exclude her, as an *Alien*, for though that held in other caſes, yet it was only a Proviſion of Law, which could not take away a Divine right, and by ſpecial Law the King's Children were excepted. It was alſo urged, that the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* ought to be preferred to her Daughter, who could only claim by her Right: and thongh *Maud* the Empreſs, and *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* had not claimed the Crown, but were ſatisfied that their Sons, two *Henries*, the ſecond and ſeventh, ſhould reign in their right, yet it was never heard that a Mother ſhould quit her right to a Daughter: that of the half blood was ſaid to be

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be only a rule in Law for private Families, and that it did not extend to the Crown. The power of limiting the ſucceſſion by Patent or Teſtament, was ſaid to be only a Perſonal truſt lodged in King *Henry* the Eighth, and that it did not deſcend to his Heirs, ſo that King *Edward*'s Patents were thought to be of no force.

Many turn to Queen *Mary*.

The ſeverity againſt the *Vintners* Boy in the beginning of a Reign founded on ſo doubtful a Title, was thought a great errour in Policy: and it ſeemed to be a well grounded Maxime, that all Governments ought to begin with acts of Clemency, and affect the love rather than the fear of the People. *Northumberland*'s proceeding againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, upon ſo foul a Conſpiracy, and the ſuſpicions that lay on him, as the Author of the late Kings untimely death, begat a great averſion in the People to him: and that diſpoſed them to ſet up Queen *Mary*. She gathered all in the neighbouring Counties about her. The Men of *Suffolk* were generally for the Reformation, yet a great Body of them came to her, and asked her, if ſhe would promiſe not to alter the Religion ſet up in King *Edward*'s days, ſhe aſſured them ſhe would make no changes; but ſhould be content with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion. Upon that they all vowed that they would live and dye with her. The Earl of *Suſſex*, and ſeveral others raiſed Forces for her, and proclaimed her Queen. When the Council heard this, they ſent the

the Earl of *Huntington*'s Brother to raiſe Men in *Buckinghamſhire*, and meet the Forces that ſhould be ſent from *London* at *Newmarket*.

The Duke of *Northumberland* was ordered to Command the Army. He was now much diſtracted in his thoughts. It was of equal Importance to keep *London*, and the Privy Councellours ſteady, and to conduct the Army well: A misfortune in either of theſe was like to be fatal to him. So he could not reſolve what to do; there was not a Man of ſpirit that was firm to him, to be left behind, and yet it was moſt neceſſary once to diſſipate the Force, that was daily growing about Queen *Mary*. The Lady *Jane* and the Council were removed to the *Tower*, not only for ſtate, but for ſecurity; for here the Council were upon the matter Priſoners. He could do no more, but lay a ſtrict charge on the Council, to be firm to Lady *Jane*'s Intereſts, and ſo he marched out of *London* with 2000. Horſe, and 6000. Foot, on the 14*th*. of *July*: but no acclamations or wiſhes of ſucceſs were to be heard, as he paſt through the Streets. The Council gave the Emperor notice of the Lady *Jane*'s ſucceſſion, and complained of the diſturbance that was raiſed by Queen *Mary*, and that his Ambaſſadour had officiouſly medled in their affairs. But the Emperour would not receive their Letters. *Ridley* was appointed to preach up Queen *Jane*'s Title, and to animate

Northumberland marches againſt her.

Book III 1553. the People againſt Queen *Mary*, which he too raſhly obeyed. But Queen *Mary*'s Party encreaſed every day. *Haſtings* went over to her with 4000. Men out of *Buckinghamſhire*, and ſhe was proclaimed Queen in many places. And now did the Privy Council begin to ſee their danger, and to think how to get out of it. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland*. The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was dextrous in ſhifting ſides for his advantage. The Earl of *Pembroke*'s Son had married the Lady *Jane*'s Siſter, which made him think it neceſſary to redeem the danger he was in, by a ſpeedy turn. To theſe many others were joyned. They pretended it was neceſſary to give an Audience to the foreign Ambaſſadours, who would not have it in the *Tower*. And the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Houſe was pitched upon, he being leaſt ſuſpected. They alſo ſaid it was neceſſary to treat with the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, for ſending more Forces to *Northumberland*, concerning which he had writ very earneſtly.

The Council declares for her. When they got out, they reſolved to declare for Queen *Mary*; and rid themſelves of *Northumberland*'s uneaſie Yoke, which they knew they muſt bear, if he were victorious. They ſent for the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, and eaſily perſwaded them to concur with them, and ſo they went immediately to *Cheapſide*, and proclaimed the Queen on the 19*th*. of *July*: and from thence they went to St. *Paul*'s, where *Te Deum* was ſung. They ſent next

to

to the *Tower*, requiring the Duke of *Suffolk* to quit the Government of that place, and the Lady *Jane* to lay down the Title of *Queen*; ſhe ſubmitted with as much greatneſs of mind, as her Father ſhewed of abjectneſs. They ſent alſo Orders to *Northumberland* to diſmiſs his Forces, and to obey the Queen; and the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were ſent to carry theſe welcome tidings to her. When *Northumberland* heard of the Turn that was in *London*, without ſtaying for Orders he diſcharged his Forces, and went to the Market-place at *Cambridge*, where he was at that time, and proclaimed the Queen. The Earl of *Arundel* was ſent to apprehend him, and when he was brought to him, he fell at his Feet to beg his favour: for a mind, that has no ballance in it ſelf, turns inſolent or abject, out of meaſure, with the various changes of fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and Sir *Tho. Palmer*, (that was his wicked Inſtrument againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*) were all ſent to the *Tower*. Now all People went to implore the Queen's favour, and *Ridley* among the reſt, but he was ſent to the *Tower*: for ſhe was both offended with him for his Sermon, and reſolved to put *Bonner* again in the See of *London*. Some of the Judges, and ſeveral Noblemen were alſo ſent thither, among the reſt the Duke of *Suffolk*, but three days after he was ſet at liberty. He was a weak Man, and could do little harm, ſo he was pitched on as

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the first Instance, towards whom the *Queen* should express her Clemency.

1553. She comes to *London.*

She came to *London* on the 3*d.* of *August*, and on the way was met by her Sister, Lady *Elizabeth*, with a thousand Horse, whom she had raised to come to the *Queen*'s assistance. When she came to the *Tower*, she discharged the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Dutchess of *Somerset*, and *Gardiner*, of whose Commitment mention has been formerly made; as also the Lord *Courtney*, Son to the Marques of *Exeter*, who had been kept there ever since his Fathers Attainder, whom she made Earl of *Devonshire*. And thus was she now peaceably setled on the Throne; notwithstanding that great Combination against her, which had not been so easily broken, if the Head of it had not been a Man so Universally distastful.

Her former life.

She was a Lady of great Vertues, she was strict in her Religion to superstition; her Temper was much corrupted by Melancholy; and the many cross accidents of her life increased this to a great degree. She adhered so resolutely to her Mothers Interests, that it was believed her Father once intended to have taken her Life: upon which her Mother wrote a very devout Letter to her, charging her to trust in God, and keep her self pure, and to obey the King in all things, except in matters of Religion: She sent her two *Latine* Books for her entertainment, Saint *Jerome*'s Epistles, and a Book of the Life of

of *Christ*, which was perhaps the famous Book of *Thomas à Kempis*. The Kings displeasure at her was such, that neither the Duke of *Norfolk*, nor *Gardiner*, durst venture to intercede for her. *Cranmer* was the only Man that hazarded on it, and did it so effectually, that he prevailed with him about it. But after her Mothers death, she hearkned to other Counsels, so that upon *Anne Boleyn*'s fall, she made a full submission to him, as was mentioned before. She did also in many Letters, which she writ both to her Father, and to *Cromwell*, 'Protest great sorrow for her former 'stubornness, and declared that she put 'her Soul in his hand, and that her Con-'science should be always directed by him; 'and being asked what her Opinion was 'concerning Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and 'Reliques; she answered, that she had no 'Opinion, but such as she received from 'the King, who had her whole heart in his 'keeping: and might imprint upon it, in 'these, and in all other matters, whatever 'his inestimable Vertue, high Wisdom, 'and excellent Learning should think con-'venient for her. So perfectly had she learned the stile, that she knew was most acceptable to her Father. After that, she was in all points obedient to him, and during her Brothers Reign, she set up on that pretence, that she would adhere to that way of Religion, that was setled by her Father.

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1553. The Counsels then laid down.

Two different Schemes were now set before her; *Gardiner*, and all that had complied in the former times, moved, that at first she should bring things back to the state in which they were, when her Father died: and afterwards by easie and slow steps she might again return to the obedience to the See of *Rome*. But she her self was more inclined to return to that immediately; she thought she could not be legitimated any other way, and so was like to proceed too quick. *Gardiner* finding that Political Maximes made no great Impression on her, and that he was lookt on by her as a crafty temporising Man, addressed himself to the Emperour, who understood Government and Mankind better: and undertook, that if he might have the Seals, he would manage matters so, that in a little time he should bring all things about to her mind: and that there was no danger, but in her precipitating things, and being so much governed by *Italian* Counsels: for he understood, that she had sent for Cardinal *Pool*. The People had a great Aversion to the Papal authority, and the Nobility and Gentry were apprehensive of losing the *Abbey* Lands; therefore it was necessary to remove these prejudices by degrees. He also assured the Emperour, that he would serve all his Interests zealously, and shewed him how necessary it was to stop Cardinal *Pool*, who stood Attainted by Law: In this he was the more earnest, because he

he knew *Pool* hated him. The Emperour upon this, writ so effectually to the Queen, to depend on *Gardiner*'s Counsels, that on the 13*th*. of *August*, he was made Lord Chancellour, and the conduct of affairs was put in his hands. The Duke of *Norfolk* being now at liberty, pretended that he was never truly attainted; and that it was no legal Act, that had past against him, and by this he recovered his Estate; all the Grants that had been made out of it, being declared void at Common Law.

Northumberlands Trial,

He was made Lord Steward for the Trial of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marques of *Northampton*. All that they pleaded in their own defence, lay in two points; the one was, whether any thing that was acted by Order of Council, and the authority of the Great Seal, could be Treason? The other was, whether those that were as guilty as they were, could sit and judge them? The Judges answered, that the Great Seal, or Privy Council of one, that was not lawful *Queen*, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity: and that other Peers, if they were not convicted by Record, might judge them. These Points being determined against them, they pleaded *Guilty*, and submitted to the Queens Mercy: So Sentence past upon them: and the day after that, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and some others, were tried and condemned: But of

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all these, it was resolved, that only *Northumberland*, *Gates* and *Palmer* should suffer.

1553. And Execution.

Heath was appointed to attend on *Northumberland*, and to prepare him for death. He then professed he had been always of the old Religion in his heart, and had complied against his Conscience in the former times, but whether that was true, or whether it was done in hopes of life, as it cannot be certainly known, so it shews, he had little regard to Religion, either in his life, or at his death. But he was a Man of such a temper, that it was resolved to put him out of a capacity of revenging himself on his Enemies. On the 22. of *August*, he and the other two were beheaded. There past some expostulation between *Gates* and him: each of them accusing the other as the Author of their ruine. But they were seemingly reconciled, and professed they forgave one another. He made a long Speech, confessing his former ill life, and the Justice of the Sentence against him; 'He exhor-'ted the People to stand to the Religion 'of their Ancestors, to reject all Novel-'ties, and to drive the Preachers of them 'out of the Nation, and declared he had 'temporised against his Conscience, and 'that he was always of the Religion of 'his Fore-fathers. He was an extraordinary Man, till he was raised very high: but that transported him out of measure, and he was so strangely changed in the last

laſt paſſages of his life, that it encreaſed the Jealouſies that were raiſed of his having haſtned King *Edward*'s death: and that the horrors of that Guilt did ſo haunt him, that both the Judgment and Courage he had expreſſed in the former parts of his life, ſeemed now to have left him. *Palmer* was little pitied, for he was believed the betrayer of his former Maſter, the Duke of *Somerſet*, and was upon that ſervice taken into *Northumberland*'s confidence.

There was no ſtrict enquiry made into King *Edward*'s death: all the honour done his Memory, was, that they allowed him Funeral Rites. On the 8*th*. of *Auguſt*, he was buried at *Weſtminſter*, and the Queen had an Exequie, and Maſſes for him at the *Tower*. *Day* was appointed to preach the Sermon: in it he praiſed the King, but inveighed ſeverely againſt the adminiſtration of affairs under him. It had been reſolved to bury him according to the old Forms, but *Cranmer* oppoſed that, and prevailed that he ſhould be buried according to the form then ſetled by Law: and he himſelf did officiate, and ended the ſolemnity with a Communion, all which it may be ſuppoſed he did with a very lively ſorrow, having both loved the King beyond expreſſion, and looking on his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and as a ſtep to his own. King *Edwards* Funeral.

On

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1553. *A Tumult at S. Pauls.*

On the 22. of *August*, the Queen declared in Council, 'That though she was 'fixed in her own Religion, yet she would 'not Compel others to it: but would leave 'that to the motions of God's Spirit, and 'the labours of good Preachers. The day after that, *Bonner* went to Saint *Pauls*; and *Bourn*, that was his Chaplain, preached; he extolled *Bonner* much, and inveighed against the sufferings he was put to. Upon this a Tumult was raised, for the People could not hear reflections made on King *Edward*: some flung stones at him, and one threw a Dagger at the Pulpit, with such force, that it stuck fast in the wood. *Rogers* and *Bradford* were present, who were in great esteem with the People: so they stood up and quieted them, and conveyed *Bourn* safe home. This was a very welcome Accident to the Papists, and gave them a colour to prohibit preaching, by a Publick Inhibition in the Queen's Name: in which she declared, 'That her Religion was the same that 'it had been from her Infancy, but that 'she would compel none of her Subjects 'in matters of Religion; till publick Or'der should be taken in it by common Af'sent. She required her People to live 'quietly, not to use the terms of *Papist*, 'or *Heretick*, or other reproachful speech'es, and that none should Preach without 'Licence: she also charged them not to pu'nish any on the account of the late Re'bellion,

'bellion, but as they ſhould be authoriſed
'by her. She would be ſorry to be dri- Book III
'ven to execute the ſeverity of the Law;
'but was reſolved not to ſuffer Rebellious 1553.
'doings to go unpuniſhed. This gave great occaſion to cenſure, and was thought a Declaration, not for her Fathers Religion, but for Popery: ſince it was that which ſhe profeſſed from her Infancy. It was alſo obſerved, that ſhe limited her promiſe of not compelling others, till Publick Order ſhould be taken in it: the meaning of which was, till a Parliament could be brought to concur with her. The reſtraint upon Preaching, without Licence, was juſtified from what had been done in King *Edward*'s time; though then, at firſt, all might preach in their own Churches without it; It was only neceſſary, if they preached any where elſe: Biſhops had alſo the power of Licenſing in their Dioceſes: and the total reſtraint that followed afterwards, laſted but a ſhort while. But now all the Pulpits were put under an Interdict, till the Preachers ſhould obtain a Licence from *Gardiner:* and that he reſolved to grant to none, but thoſe that would Preach as he ſhould direct them. The Queen's threatning to proceed againſt ſuch as were guilty of the late Rebellion, ſtruck a general terrour in the City of *London*; for the greateſt part had been in ſome meaſure concerned in it.

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In *Suffolk* the people thought their Services, and the Queens promises gave them a Title to own their Religion more avowedly: But orders were sent to the Bishop of *Norwich* to execute the Queens Injunctions, and to see that none should preach that had not obtained a Licence. Upon this, some of those that had merited most, came and put the Queen in mind of her Promise: But she sent them home with a cold Answer; and told them, they must learn to obey her, and not pretend to govern her: And one that had spoken more confidently than the rest, was set in a Pillory for it three days, as having said words that tended to defame the Queen. This was a sad Omen of a severe Government, in which the claiming of Promises went for a crime. *Bradford* and *Rogers* were also seized on; and it was pretended, that the authority they shewed in quieting the Tumult, was a sign that they had raised it. *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstal*, *Heath* and *Day*, were restored to their Bishopricks; they had all Appealed to the King before Sentence had past against them; so Commissions were given to some Civilians to examine the grounds of these Appeals, and they made report that they were good, and so that the Sentences against them were null. *Gardiner* had authority given him to grant Priests Licences to preach in any Church, as he should appoint: By this the Reformed were not only silenced, but their Churches and Pulpits were cast open

1553. Severe proceedings against the men of *Suffolk*, and others.

to

to such as *Gardiner* pleased to send among them. They differed in their opinions how far they were bound to obey this Prohibition: Some thought they might forbear publick Preaching, when they were so required: But they made that up by private Conferences and Instructions: Others thought that if this had been only a particular hardship upon a few, the regard to Peace and Order should have obliged them to submit to it; but since it was general, and done on design to extinguish the light of the Gospel, that they ought to go on, and preach at their peril; of this last sort several were put in Prison for their disobedience, and among others *Hooper* and *Coverdale*.

The people that loved the old Superstition, began now to set up Images, and the old Rites again in many places: And though this was plainly against Law, yet the Government encouraged it all they could. Judge *Hales* thought his refusing to concur with the rest in excluding the Queen, gave him a more than ordinary priviledge. So when he went the Circuit, he gave the charge in *Kent*, requiring the Justices to see to the execution of King *Edward*'s Laws, that continued still in force. But upon his return he was committed for this, and removed from Prison to Prison; which, with the threatnings that were made him, terrified him so much, that he cut his Throat, but not mortally: As he recovered he made his submission, and obtained his liberty. Yet the disorder he

Particularly against Judge *Hales*.

was

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was in, never left him till he drowned himself. This shewed that former merit was not so much considered as a readiness to comply in matters of Religion; Judge *Bromley*, though he made no difficulty in declaring his opinion for the Queens exclusion, yet since he profest himself a Papist, was made Lord Chief Justice: and *Montague*, who had proceeded in it with great aversion, yet because he was for the Reformation, was put in Prison, and severely Fined; though he had this merit to pretend, that he had sent his Son and twenty men with him, to declare for the Queen; and had this also to recommend him to pity, that he had six Sons, and ten Daughters. *Peter Martyr* was forced to retire from *Oxford*: He came to *Lambeth*, but was not like to find long shelter there.

Cranmers Imprisonment.

Cranmer kept himself quiet for some time, which gave the other party occasion to publish that he was resolved to turn with the Tyde. *Bonner* writ upon that to a friend of his, that Mr. *Canterbury* (so he called him in derision) was become very humble; but that would not serve his turn, for he would be sent to the *Tower* within a very little while. Some advised him to fly beyond Sea; he answered, That though he could not dissuade others to fly from the persecution they saw coming on, yet that was unbecoming a man in his station, that had such a hand in the changes formerly made. He prepared a Writing, which he intended to have published: The substance of it

it was, 'That he found the Devil was more 'than ordinary buſie in defaming the Ser- 'vants of God; and that whereas the cor- 'ruptions in the Maſs had been caſt out, 'and that the Lords Supper was again ſet 'up, according to its firſt Inſtitution; the 'Devil now, to promote the Maſs, which 'was his invention, ſet his Inſtruments on 'work, who gave it out, that it was now 'ſaid in *Canterbury* by his order: Therefore 'he proteſted that was falſe, and that a 'diſſembling Monk (this was *Thornton* Bi- 'ſhop Suffragan of *Dover*) had done it 'without his knowledge. He alſo offered 'that he and *Peter Martyr*, with ſuch other 'four or five as he ſhould name, would be 'ready to prove the errours of the Maſs, 'and to defend the whole Doctrine and 'Service ſet forth by the late King, as moſt 'conform to the word of God, and to the 'practice of the Ancient Church for many 'Ages. Before he had finiſhed this, *Scory*, that had been Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, coming to him, he ſhewed it him and deſired his opinion in it. He being a hot man, liked it ſo well, that he gave Copies of it: and one of theſe was read publickly in *Cheapſide*. So three days after that he was cited to the *Star*-Chamber to anſwer for it: he confeſſed it was his, and that he had intended to have enlarged it in ſome things, and to have affixed it with his Hand and Seal to it, at Saint *Pauls*, and many other Churches. He was at this time diſmiſt: *Gardiner* ſaw the Queen intended to put Cardinal *Pool* in his

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his room, and that made him endeavour to preserve him. Some moved that a small Pension might be assigned him, and that he should be suffered to live private: for the sweetness of his Temper had procured him so Universal a love from all People, that it was thought too hardy a step to proceed to extremities with him. Others said, he had been the chief Author of all the Heresie that was in the Nation, and that it was not decent for the Queen to shew any favour to him, that had pronounced the Sentence of her Mothers divorce. Within a Week after this, both *Latimer* and he, and several other Preachers were put in Prison.

The strangers driven out of *England*.

Peter Martyr that had come over upon the publick faith, had leave given him to go beyond Sea: so had also *à Lasco*, and the *Germans*: and about two hundred of them went away in *December*: but both in *Denmark*, where they first landed, and in *Lubeck*, *Wismar* and *Hamburgh*, to which they removed, they were denied admittance; because they were of the *Helvetian* Confession, and in all these places the fierce *Lutherans* prevailed; who did so far put off all bowels, that they would not so much as suffer these Refuges to stay among them, till the rigours of the Winter were over: but at last they found shelter in *Friseland*. Many of the *English* foreseeing the storm, resolved to withdraw in time: so the strangers being required to

to be gone, they went under that Cover in great numbers. But the Council understanding that about a thousand had so conveyed themselves away, gave order that none should be suffered to go as strangers, but those that had a Certificate from the Ambassadour of the Princes, to whom they belonged. With those that fled beyond Sea, divers Eminent Preachers went: among whom were *Cox*, *Sandys*, *Grindall*, and *Horn*, all afterwards highly advanced by Queen *Elizabeth*. Book III 1553.

These things began to alienate the People from the Government, therefore on the other hand great care was taken to sweeten them. The Queen bestowed the chief Offices of the Houshold on those that had assisted her in her extremity; there being no way more effectual to engage all to adhere to the Crown, than the grateful acknowledgment of past services. An unusual honour was done to *Ratcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, he had a Licence granted him under the Great Seal, to cover his Head in her Presence. On the 10*th*. of *October* the Queen was Crowned, *Gardiner* with ten other Bishops performing that Ceremony, with the ordinary solemnity. *Day* being esteemed the best Preacher among them, preached the Sermon. There was a General Pardon proclaimed, and with that, 'the Queen 'discharged the Subjects of the two Tenths, 'two Fifteenths, and a Subsidy that had 'been granted by the last Parliament: and Popular arts used by *Gardiner*.

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1553. 'she also declared that she would pay 'both her Fathers Debts and her Brothers; 'and though her Treasure was much ex- 'hausted, yet she esteeming the love of 'her People her best Treasure, forgave 'those Taxes, in lieu of which she desired 'only the hearts of her Subjects, and that 'they would serve God sincerely, and pray 'earnestly for her.

A Parliament meets, and repeals several Laws.

On the 20th. of *October*, a Parliament met. There had been great violences used in many Elections, and many false Returns were made: some that were known to be zealous for the Reformation were forcibly turned out of the House of Commons; which was afterwards offered as a ground upon which that Parliament, and all Acts made in it, might have been annulled: There came only two of the Reformed Bishops to the House of Lords: The two Arch-bishops, and three Bishops were in Prison: Two others were turned out, the rest stayed at home, so only *Taylor* and *Harley*, the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* came. When Mass began to be said, they went out, as some report it, but were never suffered to come to their places again: others say, they refused to joyn in that Worship, and so were violently thrust out. In the House of Commons, some of the more forward moved, that King *Edward*'s Laws might be reviewed, but things were not ripe enough for that. *Nowell* a Prebendary of *Westminster*, was returned

returned Burgeſs for a Town; but the Houſe voted, That the Clergy being repreſented in the lower Houſe of Convocation, could not be admitted to ſit among the Laity. The Commons ſent up a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, which the Lords ſent down amended in two Proviſo's, and the Commons did not then inſiſt on their Priviledge, that the Lords could not alter a Bill of Money. The only publick Bill that was finiſhed this Seſſion, was a Repeal of all late Statutes, making any Crime, Treaſon, that was not ſo by the 25. of *Edward* the Third; or Felony, that was not ſo before King *Henry* the Eighth: excepting from the benefit of this Act, all that were put in Priſon before the end of *September* laſt, who were alſo excepted out of the General Pardon. The Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire* her Son, were reſtored in blood by two private Acts: and then the Parliament was prorogued for three days, that it might be ſaid, the firſt Seſſion under the *Queen*, was meerly for Acts of Mercy.

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At their next Meeting, after the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was paſt: a Bill paſt through both Houſes in Four days, repealing the Divorce of the *Queens* Mother: 'In which they declared the 'Marriage to have been lawful; and that 'malicious Perſons had poſſeſſed the King 'with ſcruples concerning it; and had by 'Corruption procured the Seals of Foreign

The Qu.'s Mother's marriage confirm'd.

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1553. 'Universities condemning it, and had by 'threatnings and sinistrous Arts obtained 'the like in *England*: Upon which *Cranmer* 'had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce, 'which had been confirmed in Parliament: 'They therefore looking on the miseries 'that had fallen on the Nation, since that 'time, as Judgments from God for that sen-'tence, condemn it, and repeal the Acts con-'firming it. *Gardiner*, in this, performed his promise to the Queen, of getting her to be declared Legitimate, without taking notice of the *Pope*'s authority: but he shewed that he was past shame, when he procured such a Repeal of a Sentence, which he had so servilely promoted: and he particularly knew the falshood of this pretence, that the foreign Universities were corrupted. He had also set it on long before *Cranmer* engaged in it, and sat in Court with him, when it was pronounced. By this Act the Lady *Elizabeth* was upon the matter again illegitimated, since the ground upon which her Mothers marriage subsisted, was the Divorce of the first Marriage: and it was either upon this pretence, or on old scores, that the Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a Sister, began now to use her more severely. Others suggest that a secret rivalry was the true spring of it. It was thought the Earl of *Devonshire* was much in the Queens favour, but he either not presuming so high, or liking Lady *Elizabeth* better, who was both more beautiful, and was XIX. Years younger than the Queen, made

made his addreſſes to her, which provoked the Queen ſo much, that it drew a great deal of trouble on them both.

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The next Bill was a Repeal of all the Laws, made in King *Edward*'s reign, concerning Religion: it was argued ſix days in the Houſe of Commons, and carried without a Diviſion: by this, Religion was again put back into the ſtate, in which King *Henry* had left it: and this was to take place after the 20*th*. of *December* next, but till then it was left free to all, either to uſe the old, or the new Service, as they pleaſed. Another Act paſt againſt all, that ſhould diſquiet any Preacher for his Sermons, or interrupt Divine Offices, either ſuch as had been in the laſt year of King *Henry*, or ſuch as the Queen ſhould ſet out: by which ſhe was empowered to reſtore the ſervice in all things, as it had been, before her Father made the breach with *Rome*: Offenders were either to be puniſhed by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, or by an Impriſonment for three Months. And the Houſe of Commons was now ſo forward, that they ſent up a Bill, for the Puniſhing of all ſuch as would not come to Church or Sacraments, after the Old Service ſhould be again ſet up: yet the Lords fearing this might alarm the Nation too much, let it fall. Another Law was made, that if any, to the number of Twelve, ſhould meet to alter any thing in Religion, or for any Riot, or ſhould by any

King *Edward*'s Laws about Religion repealed.

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publick notice, such as Bells or Beacons, gather the People together, and upon Proclamation made, should not disperse themselves; they, and all that assisted them, were declared guilty of Felony: and if any more than two, met for these ends, they should lye a Year in Prison; and all People were required, under severe Penalties, to assist the Justices, for repressing such Assemblies. So the favour of the former Act of Repeal, appeared to be a mockery, when so soon after it, so severe a Law made: by which disorders, that might arise upon sudden heats, were declared to be Felonies. The Marques of *Northampton*'s second Marriage was also annulled, but no Declaration was made against Divorces in general, grounded on the Indissolubleness of the Marriage bond; only that particular sentence was condemned, as pronounced upon false surmises.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Attainder repealed.

An Act also passed, annulling the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*: those who had purchased some parts of his Estate from the Crown, opposed it much in the House of Commons: but the Duke came down to the House, and desired them earnestly to pass it, and assured them, that he would refer all differences between him and the Patentees, either to Arbiters, or to the Queen: and so it was agreed to. 'It set forth the pretences, 'that were made use of to Attaint him; 'as that he used Coats of Arms, which

'he

'he and his Anceſtors had lawfully uſed.
'There was a Commiſſion given to ſome, Book III
'to declare the Royal aſſent to it; but that was
'not ſigned, but only ſtamped by the King's 1553.
'mark: and that not at the upper end, as was
'uſual, but beneath; nor did it appear, that
'the Royal Aſſent was ever given to it,
'and they declared, that in all time com-
'ing, the Royal aſſent ſhould be given,
'either by the King in Perſon, or by a Com-
'miſſion under the Great Seal; ſigned by
'the King's hand, and publickly declared to
'both Houſes. *Cranmer*, *Guilford Dudley*, and his Wife the Lady *Jane*, and two of his Brothers were tryed for Treaſon; they all confeſſed their Indictments: only *Cranmer* appealed to the Judges, who knew how unwillingly he had conſented to the Excluſion of the Queen, and that he did it not, till they, whoſe profeſſion it was to know the Law, had ſigned it. They were all Attainted of Treaſon, for levying War againſt the Queen, and their Attainders were confirmed in Parliament; ſo was *Cranmer* legally diveſted of his Archbiſhoprick; but ſince he was put in it by the *Pope*'s authority, it was reſolved to degrade him by the forms of the Canon-Law: and the *Queen* was willing to pardon his Treaſon, that it might appear ſhe did not act upon revenge, but Zeal: ſhe was often prevailed with, to pardon Injuries againſt her ſelf, but was always inexorable in matters of Religion.

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1553. A Treaty for reconciling *England* to the Pope:

But now her Treaty with the Pope began to take vent, which put the Parliament in some disorder. When she came first to the Crown, the Popes Legate at *Brussels* sent over *Commendone*, to see if he could speak with her, and to perswade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apostolick See. The management of the matter was left to his discretion, for the Legate would not trust this secret to *Gardiner*, nor any of the other Bishops. *Commendone* came over in the disguise of a Merchant, and by accident met with one of the Queens Servants, who had lived some years beyond Sea, and was known to him, and by his means he procured access to the Queen. She assured him of her firm resolution to return to the obedience of that See, but charged him to manage the matter with great prudence; for if it were too early discovered, it might disturb her affairs, and obstruct the design: By him she wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal *Pool*; and instructed *Commendone*, in order to the sending over *Pool* with a Legatine power: She also asked him, whether the Pope might not dispence with *Pool* to marry, since he was only in Deacons Orders. This was a welcome Message to the Court of *Rome*, and proved the foundation of *Commendone*'s advancement. There was a publick rejoicing for three days, and the Pope said Mass himself upon it; and gave a largess of Indulgences, in which he might be the more liberal, because they were like to come into credit again,

again, and to go off at the old rates. Yet all that *Commendone* said in the Consistory, was, That he understood from good hands, that the Queen was well disposed to a reunion. Some of the stiffer Cardinals thought it was below the Popes dignity to send a Legate, till an Embassie should come first from the Queen, desiring it: Yet the secret was so whispered among them, that it was generally known. It was said, they ought to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who went to seek the stray Sheep: And therefore *Pool* was appointed to go Legate, with ample powers. *Gardiner* was in fear of him, and so advised the Emperour to stop him in his journey; and to touch the Emperour in a tender part, it is said that he let him know that the Queen had some Inclinations for the Cardinal. The Emperour had now proposed a Match with her for his Son, though he was nine years younger than she was; yet she being but thirty seven, there was reason enough to hope for Children; and the uniting *England* to the *Spanish* Monarchy seem'd to be all that was wanting to strengthen it on all hands, so as to ruine the *French* Kingdom. The Queen saw reasons enough to determine her to entertain it: She found it would be hard to bring the Nation about in matters of Religion, without the assistance of a foreign power: Yet it is more reasonable to think that *Gardiner*, who was always governed by his Interests, would have rather promoted the match with *Pool*, for

And for a Match with the Prince of *Spain*.

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then he had been Infallibly made Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and had got *Pool*'s Hat; and the Government would have been much easier, if the Queen had married a Subject, than it could be under a Stranger, especially one whose greatness made all people very apprehensive of him.

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Pool's advices to the Queen.

The restoring the Papal power, and the Match with the Prince of *Spain*, were things of such uneasie digestion, that it was not fit to adventure on both at once; therefore the Emperour prest the Queen to begin with her Marriage, and by that she would be powerfully assisted to carry on her other designs; and at last the Queen her self was perswaded to send to *Pool*, to advise him to stop his Journey for some time. She sent over the Acts of this Parliament, to let him see what progress she was making, and to assure him she would make all convenient haste in the Re-union: But the Parliament had expressed so great an aversion to the restoring the Popes power, and were so apprehensive of losing the Abbey-Lands, that it would prejudice her affairs much, if he should come over before the peoples minds were better prepared. She also desired him to send her a List of those that were fit to be made Bishops, in the room of those that were turned out. To this he writ a long and tedious answer; he rejoiced at the Acts that were passed, but observed great defects in them: In that concerning her Mothers Marriage, there was no mention made of the Popes Bull of Dispensation,

tion, by which only it could be a lawful Marriage. The other for ſetting up the Worſhip, as it was in the end of her Fathers reign, he cenſured more; for they were then in a ſtate of Schiſm, and ſo this eſtabliſhed Schiſm by a Law: And he ſaid, that while the Interdict lay on the Nation, it was a ſin to perform Divine Offices. He had been very frankly diſpatched by the Pope and the Conſiſtory, with many favourable Inſtructions; but if theſe were ſo deſpiſed, and he ſtill ſtopt, it might provoke him to recal his power. He knew all this flowed from the Emperour, who would perhaps adviſe her to follow ſuch Political Maximes as himſelf was governed by, but his ill ſucceſs in the buſineſs of the *Interim*, might well frighten others from following ſuch Counſels: And he was afraid that Carnal Policy might govern her too much, and that ſo ſhe would fall from her ſimplicity in Chriſt. He deſired her to take Courage, and to depend on God; and adviſed her to go her ſelf to the Parliament, having before-hand prepared ſome to ſecond her, and to tell them that ſhe was touched in Conſcience with a ſenſe of the ſin of Schiſm, and that therefore ſhe deſired the Act of Attainder that ſtood againſt him might be Repealed, and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apoſtolick See: And ſhe might aſſure them that all neceſſary caution ſhould be uſed to prevent the Nations being brought under a thraldome to the Papacy.

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But

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1553. But the Queen was now poſſeſt with *Gardiner*'s Counſels, and look'd on *Pool*'s advices as more candid than prudent. *Gardiner* perſwaded her that though he was a good and learned man, yet he underſtood not the preſent genius of the Nation; and *Pool* lookt on *Gardiner* as a man of no Conſcience, and that he was more converſant in Intrigues of State, than touched with any ſenſe of Religion: But the Emperour was convinced that *Gardiner*'s Methods were ſurer, and preferred them to *Pool*'s.

The Parliament oppoſes the match, and is diſſolved.

When the Treaty of the Queens Marriage came to be known, the Houſe of Commons was much alarmed at it; and they ſent their Speaker with twenty of their Members, with an Addreſs to her, not to marry a ſtranger: And they were ſo inflamed, that the Court judged it neceſſary to diſſolve the Parliament. *Gardiner* upon this, let the Emperour know that the jealouſies which were taken up on the account of the Match were ſuch, that except very extraordinary conditions were offered, it would occaſion a general Rebellion. He alſo writ to him that great ſums muſt be ſent over both to gratifie the Nobility, and to enable them to carry the Elections to the next Parliament, in oppoſition to ſuch as would ſtand againſt them. As for Conditions, it was reſolved to grant any that ſhould be demanded; for the Emperour reckoned that if his Son were once married to her, it would be eaſie for him to govern the Councils as he pleaſed: And for Money there

there was 400000 pound ordered to be divided up and down the Nation, at the discretion of *Gardiner*, and the Emperours Ambassadours: A great part of it was payed in hand, and the rest was brought over with the Prince. This the Emperour borrowed from some of the Free Towns of *Germany*; and when they were pressing him for the re-payment of it about a year after; he for his excuse told them the charge he had been at for his Sons Marriage, but that he hoped to be re-imbursed from *England*; which was thus bought and sold by a practising Bishop and a corrupted House of Commons. *Gardiner* did also make use of his power, as Chancellour, to force all people to comply with him; for there was no favour nor common Justice shewed in his Court of Chancery to any others.

With the Parliament a Convocation met, *Harpsfield* preached to them, he flattered the Queen, and the Bishops that had been deprived in the late times, with a zeal that shewed how fervently he aspired to preferment: He inveighed against the late times with great sharpness; so that his Sermon was divided between Satyr and Panegyrick. Six of the Reformed Divines were qualified by their dignities to sit in the lower House, being either Deans or Arch-Deacons, who were *Philpot*, *Philips*, *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, *Ailmer* and *Young*. They made a vigorous opposition to a motion that was proposed for condemning the Catechism and Common-Prayer-Book that had

A Convocation meets, and disputes about the Sacrament.

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had been set out in King *Edward*'s time, and particularly the Articles against Transubstantiation: To this all agreed except

1553. those six. It was pretended that the Catechism was not set out by authority of Convocation: To which *Philpot* answered, That the Convocation had deputed some to compose it, and so it was on the matter, their work. A disputation was proposed concerning the Sacrament, though all the rest of the Convocation subscribed the Conclusion first; which was complained of as a preposterous method. The six desired that *Ridley* and *Rogers*, with some others, might be suffered to come and join with them; but that was refused, since they were no members, and were then in Prison.

On the twenty third of *October* the dispute began, many of the Nobility, and others, being present; *Weston* was Prolocutor, he opened it with a Protestation, that they went not to dispute, as calling the Truth in question, but only to satisfie the objections of a few. *Haddon*, *Ailmer* and *Young*, foresaw that it was resolved to run them down with numbers & noise, so at first they refused to dispute, and the last of them went away. *Cheyney* argued from St. *Paul*'s calling the Sacrament *Bread*, *Origen*'s saying that it nourished the Body, and *Theodoret*'s saying that *the Elements did not depart from their former substance, form, and shape*. *Moreman* answered, that *Theodoret*'s words were to be understood of an accidental substance: It was replied, that *form* and

and *shape* belonged to the accidents, but *substance* belonged to the nature of the Elements. *Philpot* shewed that the occasion of his using these words was to prove against the *Eutychians*, that there was a true humane nature in Christ, notwithstanding its union with the Godhead; which he proved by this simile, that the Elements in the Eucharist remained in their nature; so this must be understood of the substance of Bread and Wine: But to this no answer was made; and when he seemed to press it too far, he was commanded to be silent. *Haddon* cited many passages out of the Fathers, to shew that they believed Christ was still in Heaven, and that the Sacrament was a memorial of him till his second coming: He also asked, whether they thought that Christ did eat his own natural Body; and when that was confessed, he said it was needless to dispute with men who could swallow down such an absurdity. The disputation continued several days: *Philpot* made a long Speech against the Corporal presence, but was oft interrupted; for they told him that he might propose an Argument, but they would not hear him make Harangues. He undertook to prove before the Queen and her Council, that the Mass, as they had it, was no Sacrament at all, and that the body of Christ was not present in it; and if he failed in it, he would be content to be burnt at the Court Gate. After some short time spent in citing passages out of the Fathers, *Philpot* was commanded to hold his peace,

other-

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otherwise they would send him to Prison: He claimed the priviledge of the House for freedome of Speech, but being much cried down, he said they were a company of men who had dissembled with God and the World in the late Reign, and were now met together to set forth false devices, which they were not able to maintain. *Theodoret*'s words were much and often insisted on; so *Weston* answered, if *Theodoret* should be yielded to them, they had an hundred Fathers on the other side. *Cheyney* shewed out of *Hesychius*, that the custome of *Jerusalem* was to burn so much of the Elements as was not consumed: And he asked what it was that was burnt: One answered, it was either the Body of Christ, or the substance of Bread put there by Miracle; at which he smiled, and said a reply was needless. When much discourse had past, *Weston* asked if the House were not fully satisfied, to which the Clergy answered *Yes*; but the Spectators cried out *No*, *No*; for the doors were opened: then *Weston* asked the five Disputants if they would answer the Arguments that should be put to them? *Ailmer* said, they would not enter into such a Disputation, where matters were so indecently carried: They proposed only the Reasons why they could not joyn with the Vote that had been put concerning the Sacrament, but unless they had fairer Judges, they would go no further. *Weston* broke up all by saying, *You have the Word, but we have the Sword*; rightly pointing

ing out that wherein the ſtrength of both ſides conſiſted. It is not to be doubted but that the Popiſh party pretended they had the Victory, for that always the ſtronger ſide does upon ſuch occaſions: Yet it was viſible that this diſpute was not ſo fairly carried, as thoſe were in King *Edward*'s days; in which for near a year before any change was made, there were publick diſputes in the Univerſities; which were more proper places for them, than a Town full of noiſe and buſineſs. The queſtion was alſo here determined firſt, and then diſputed: And the preſence and favour of the Privy Council did as much raiſe the one party, as it depreſſed the other. In the end of this year *Veyſey* was again repoſſeſſed of the See of *Exeter*, *Coverdale* being now a Priſoner in the *Tower*.

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In the beginning of the next year, a great Embaſſy came from the Emperour, to agree the conditions of the Marriage between his Son and the Queen. *Gardiner* took care to have extraordinary ones granted, both to induce the Parliament more eaſily to conſent to it, and to keep the *Spaniards* from being admitted to any ſhare in the Government, that ſo he might keep it in his own hands: But the Emperour was reſolved to grant every thing that ſhould be asked. It was agreed that the Government ſhould be entirely in the Queen, and that though Pr. *Philip* was to be named in all Writs, and his Image was to be on the

1554. The Treaty of Marriage begun,

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1554. Coin and Seals, yet the Queens hand alone was to give authority to every thing, without his: No *Spaniard* was to be capable of any Office: No change was to be made in the Law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of *England* againſt her will: Nor might their iſſue go out of *England* but by the conſent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have of Jointure 40000 *l.* out of *Spain*, and 20000 *l.* out of the *Netherlands*: If the Queen had a Son, he was to inherit *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, as well as *England*; if Daughters only, they were to ſucceed to her Crowns, and to have ſuch portions from *Spain*, as was ordinary to be given to Kings Daughters: The Prince was to have no ſhare in the Government after her death: And the Queen might keep up her League with *France*, notwithſtanding this Match.

Which provokes ſome to rebel.

But this did not ſatisfie the Nation, which lookt on theſe offers only as baits to hook them into ſlavery. The ſeverities of the *Spaniſh* Government in all the Provinces that were united to that Crown, and the monſtrous Cruelties exerciſed in the *Weſt Indies* were much talkt of, and it was ſaid *England* muſt now preſerve it ſelf, or be for ever inſlaved. *Carew* and *Wiat* undertook to raiſe the Countrey, the one in *Cornwall*, and the other in *Kent*, and the Duke of *Suffolk* promiſed to raiſe the Midland Counties: for the diſpoſition to riſe was general, and might have been fatal to the Queen, if there had been good heads to have led the people.

people. But before it grew ripe, the design was discovered, and upon that Sir *Peter Carew* fled to *France*.

1554. *Wiat*'s Rebellion.

Wiat gathered some men about him, and on the twenty fifth of *January* he made Proclamation at *Maidstone*, that he intended nothing but to preserve the Nation from the yoke of strangers; and assured the people that all *England* would rise. The Sheriff of *Kent* required him, under pain of Treason, to disperse his Company, but he did not obey his Summons: One *Knevet* raised a body of men about *Tunbridge*, and marched towards him, but was intercepted and routed by a force commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was sent with two hundred Horse, and six hundred *Londoners* to dissipate this Insurrection; but some that came over from *Wiat* as deserters perswaded the *Londoners* that it was a common cause, in which they were engaged, to maintain the liberty of the Nation: So they all went over to *Wiat*. Upon this, the Duke of *Norfolk* retired back to *London*; and *Wiat*, who had kept himself under the defence of *Rochester*-Bridge, advanced towards it. The Duke of *Suffolk* made a faint attempt to raise the Country, but it did not succeed, and he was taken and brought to the *Tower*. The Queen sent the offer of a Pardon to *Wiat* and his men; but that not being received by them, she sent some of her Council to treat with him. He was blown up with his small success, and moved that the Queen would come to the *Tower* of *London*, and

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put the command of it into his hands, till a new Council were setled about her: So it appeared there was no Treaty to be thought on. The Queen went into *London*, and made great protestations of her love to her people, and that she would not dispose of herself in Marriage, but for the good of the Nation. *Wiat* was now four thousand strong, and came to *Southwark*, but could not force the Bridge of *London*: He was informed the City would all rise, if he should come to their aid; but he could not find Boats for passing over to *Essex*, so he was forced to go to the Bridge of *Kingston*. On the fourth of *February* he came thither, but found it cut; yet his men mended it, and he got to *Hide Park* next morning. His men were weary and disheartned, and now not above 500; so that though the Queens forces could have easily dispersed them, yet they let them go forward, that they might cast themselves into their hands: He marched through the *Strand*, and got to *Ludgate*, where he hoped to have found the Gate opened; but being disappointed, he turned back, and was forsaken by his men, so that a Herauld without using any force, apprehended him at *Temple-bar*. It was on *Ash-Wednesday*, and the Queen had shewed such Courage that she would not stir from *Whitehall*, nor would she omit the Devotions of that day; and this success was looked on as a reward from Heaven on her Piety. This raw and ill formed Rebellion was as

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lucky

lucky for the ends of the Court, as if *Gardiner* had projected it; for in a weak Government an ill digested Insurrection raises the power of the Prince, and adds as much Spirit to his Friends, as it depresses the faction against him; and it also gives a handle to do some things for which it were not easie otherwise to find either Colours or Instruments. The Popish Authors studied to cast the blame of this on the Reformed Preachers: but did not name any one of them, that was in it; so it appears, that what some later Writers have said of *Poinet*'s having been in it, is false; otherwise his name had certainly been put in the number of those, that were Attainted for it.

Upon this it was resolved to proceed against Lady *Jane Gray*, and her Husband; she had lived six Months in the daily Meditations of Death, so she was not much surprised at it: *Feckenam*, who was sent to prepare her for Death, acknowledged that he was astonished at her calm behaviour, her great knowledge, and the extraordinary sence she had of Religion. She writ to her Father, to moderate his grief for her death, since it was great matter of joy to her, that she was so near an end of her Miseries, and the enjoyment of Eternal glory. One *Harding*, that had been her Fathers Chaplain, and a zealous Preacher in King *Edward*'s time, had now changed his Religion: to him she wrote a long and pathetick Letter, setting forth his Apostasie, Lady *Jane Grays* Execution.

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sie, and the Judgments of God, which he might expect upon it. She sent her *Greek* New Testament to her Sister, with a Letter in *Greek*, recommending the study of that Book to her, and chiefly the following it in her practice: these were the last exercises of this rare young Person. She was at first much moved, when she saw her Husband led out to his Execution, but recovered her self, when she considered how soon she was to follow him: and when he desired they might take leave of one another, she declined it; for she thought it would encrease their Grief, and disorder: and continued so setled in her temper, that she saw his beheaded Body carried to the Chappel in the *Tower*, without expressing any visible concern about it. She was carried out next to a Scaffold set up within the *Tower*, to hinder great Crouds from looking on a sight, which was like to raise much compassion in the Spectators. She confessed her sin, in taking an honour that was due to another, though it was a thing neither procured nor desired by her; and acknowledged her other sins against God, that she had loved her self, and the World too much; and thanked God for making her afflictions a means to her repentance; she declared she died a true Christian, trusting only to the Merits of *Christ*; then she repeated the LI. *Psalm*, and stretched out her Head on the Block, which upon the signal given, was cut off. Her Death was as much lamented, as her Life had been admired.

mired. It affected Judge *Morgan*, that had pronounced the Sentence, so much, that he run mad, and thought she still followed him. The Queen her self was troubled at it; for it was rather reason of State, than private Resentment, that set her on to it. Book III 1554

Her Father was soon after tried by his Peers, and Condemned and Executed. He was the less pitied, because by his means his Daughter was brought to her untimely end. *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, he begged his Life in a most abject manner, but he was Condemned and Executed, and so were Fifty-eight more: Six hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come with Ropes about their Necks, and beg the Queen's pardon, which was granted them. A slander was cast on the Earl of *Devonshire*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, as if they had set on the rising that was intended in the West. *Wiat*, in hopes of Life, had accused them, but he did them Justice at his Death; yet they were both put in Prison upon it. Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton* was accused of the same crime, but after a long Trial, he was acquitted, yet his Jury were hardly used, and severely fined. Sir *Jo. Cheek* was sought for: so he fled beyond Sea, but both he, and Sir *Peter Carew*, hoping that *Philip* would be glad to signalize his first coming to *England* with Acts of Grace, rendred themselves to him: After that, *Cheek* was again taken in *Flanders*, upon a new suspicion, and to deliver himself out of his trouble, he re- Several others suffered.

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nounced his Religion: But though he got his Liberty upon that, yet he could never recover the quiet of his mind; ſo he languiſhed for ſome time and dyed.

The Impoſture of the Spirit in the Wall.

There was at this time a baſe Impoſture diſcovered in *London*, one ſeemed to ſpeak out of a Wall, in a ſtrange tone of Voice. Great numbers flockt about the Houſe, and ſeveral things, both relating to Religion, and the State, were uttered by it; but it was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, who by the help of a Whiſtle ſpoke thoſe words through a Hole in the Wall. There was no other Complice found, but one *Drake*, and they both were made to do Penance for it publickly at S. *Pauls*.

Injunctions ſent to the Biſhops.

Injunctions were now given to the Biſhops, to execute ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Laws, as had been in force in K. *Henry*'s time: That in their Courts they ſhould proceed in their own Names, that the Oath of Supremacy ſhould be no more exacted: none ſuſpected of Hereſie was to be put in Orders; they were required to ſuppreſs Hereſie and Hereticks, and to turn out all married Clergymen, and to ſeparate them from their Wives: If they left their Wives, they might put them in ſome other Cure, or reſerve a Penſion for them, out of their Livings: none that had vowed Chaſtity, was to be ſuffered to live with his Wife: thoſe that were ordained by the Book, ſet out in King *Edward*'s time, were to be confirmed by all the other Rites then left out,

and

and that was declared to be no valid Ordination.

The Queen gave also a special Commission to *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonstall*, *Day*, and *Kitchin*, to proceed against the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of St. *Davids*, *Chester* and *Bristoll*, and to deprive them of their Bishopricks, for having contracted Marriage, and thereby having broken their Vows, and defiled their Function. 'She also 'authorised them, to call before them the 'Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, 'who held their Bishopricks, only during 'their good behaviour, and since they had 'done things contrary to the Laws of God, 'and the Practice of the Universal Church, 'to declare their Bishopricks void, *as they* '*were indeed already void*. And thus were seven of the Reformed Bishops turned out at a dash. It was much censured, that those who had married according to a Law then in force, which was now only repealed for the future, should be deprived for it: and this was a new severity: for in former times, when the Popes were most set against the Marriage of the Clergy, it was put to their option, whether they would part with their Wives, or with their Benefices: but none were summarily deprived, as was now done. The other Bishops, without any form of Process, or special matter objected to them, were turned out, by an Act of meer Arbitrary Government. And all this was done by vertue of the Queens being *Head of the Church*, which, though she condemned

1554. Many Bishops turned out.

as

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as a ſinful and ſacrilegious power, yet ſhe now imployed it againſt thoſe Biſhops, whoſe Sees were quickly filled with Men, in whom the Queen confided. *Goodrick* died this Year: It ſeems he complied with the change now made, otherwiſe he that put the Seal to Lady *Jane*'s Patents, could not have eſcaped the being queſtioned for it. He was an ambitious Man, and ſo no wonder, if earthly conſiderations prevailed more with him, than a good Conſcience. *Scory*, that was Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, renounced his Wife, and did Penance for his Marriage, but ſoon after he fled beyond Sea, and returned in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign: ſo that his Compliance was the effect of his weakneſs and fears. *Barlow* reſigned *Bath* and *Wells*, and a Book of recantation was publiſhed in his name, containing ſevere reflections, both on the Reformers, and on the Reformation it ſelf; but it is not certain, whether it was writ by him, or was only a forgery, put out in his Name: for if he turned ſo heartily, as the ſtrain of that Book runs, it is not likely, that he would have been put from his Biſhoprick: but he fled beyond Sea: yet it ſeems, both *Scory* and he, gave great offence by their behaviour; for though they were the only ſurviving Reformed Biſhops, when Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeded, yet they were ſo far from being promoted, that they were not ſo much as reſtored to their former Sees, but put in meaner ones. By all theſe deprivations and reſignations, there were

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ſixteen

sixteen new Bishops made, which made no small change in the face of the *English* Church. Now the Old Service was every where set up, in which *Bonner* made such hast, that before the Royal Assent was given to the Bill for it, he began the Old Service and Processions. The first opening of it was somewhat strange, for it being on Saint *Katherine*'s day, the Quiristers went up to the Steeple, and sung the Anthem there, according to the Custom for that Day. Great numbers of the Clergy were summarily deprived for being Married, they were estimated by *Parker* to be 12000. and most of them were judged upon common fame, without any Process, but a Citation; and many being then in Prison, yet were Censured, and put out for Contumacy, and held guilty. Many Books were written against the Marriage of the Clergy, and the accusing them of Impurity and sensuality on that account, was one of the chief Topicks used by the Popish Clergy, to disgrace the Reformers, which made some recriminate too indecently, and lay open the filthiness of the Unmarried Clergy, and those that were called Religious, who led most irregular lives; in particular, it was said *Bonner* had no reason to be a friend to that state, for he was the Bastard of a Bastard, and his Father, though a Priest, begat him in Adultery.

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On the 2*d*. of *April* a Parliament met, but the most considerable Members were before-hand corrupted by *Gardiner*, who gave

A new Parliament.

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gave them Pensions, some 200. and others 100 *l.* a Year for their Voices. The first Act that past was declaratory, that all the Prerogatives and Limitations, which by Law belonged to the Kings of *England* were the same, whether the Crown fell into the hands of a Male or a Female. The secret of this was little known, some were afraid there was an ill design in it, and that it being declared that she had all the authority, which any of her Progenitors ever had, it might be inferred from thence, that she might pretend to a right of Conquest, and so seize on the Estates of the *English*, as *William* the Conqueror had done. But it was so conceived, that the Queen was put under the same limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the same Prerogatives, with her Progenitors: The secret of this was afterwards discovered. A projecting Man, that had served *Cromwell*, and loved to meddle much, had been deeply engaged both in Lady *Jane*'s business, and in the late Insurrection, and was now in danger of his life, so he made application to the Emperour's Ambassadour, and by his means obtained his Pardon. He offered a Project, that the Queen should declare, that she succeeded to the Crown by the Common-Law, but was not tied by the Statute-Law, which did only bind Kings, and therefore a Queen was not obliged by it, thus she might pretend to be a Conqueror, and rule at pleasure: and by this means might restore both Religion, and the *Abbey*-Lands, and be under

A propositon to make the Queen absolute.

der no reſtraint: This the Ambaſſadour brought to the *Queen*, and prayed her to keep it very ſecret. But ſhe diſliked it, yet ſhe ſent for *Gardiner*, and charged him to give her his Opinion of it ſincerely, as he would anſwer to God for it, at the Great Day. He read it carefully, and told her it was a moſt pernicious contrivance, and beg'd her not to liſten to ſuch Plat-forms, which might be brought her by baſe Sycophants: Upon that, ſhe burnt the Paper, and charged the Ambaſſadour not to bring her any more ſuch Projects. This gave *Gardiner* great apprehenſions of the miſchiefs that *Spaniſh* Counſels might bring on the Nation, and ſo he procured the Act to be made, by which the Queen was bound by the Law, as much as her Anceſtors were. He alſo got an Act to be paſt, ratifying the Articles of the Marriage, with ſtrong clauſes, for keeping the Government entirely in the Queen's hands; that ſo *Philip* might not take it on him, as *Henry* the VII. had done, when he married the Heir of the Houſe of *York*: for, as he ſet up a Title in his own Name, and kept the Government in his own hands; ſo the *Spaniards* began to reckon a deſcent from *John* of *Gaunt*, which made *Gardiner* the more cautious: and it muſt be confeſſed, that the preſerving the Nation out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, was almoſt only owing to his care and wiſdom. The Biſhoprick of *Durham* was again reſtored, after a vigorous reſiſtance made by thoſe of *Gateſide* near *Newcaſtle*. The Attainders

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tainders of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Fifty-eight more, for the late Rebellion, were confirmed: The Commons ſent up four ſeveral Bills againſt *Lollard*'s, one confirming the Act of the ſix Articles, and others againſt Erroneous Opinions, but they were all laid aſide by the Lords: for the corrupted Members in the lower Houſe, were officious to ſhew their Zeal for *Spain* and *Popery*: Another Bill was ſent up by them, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould have no authority to trouble any for poſſeſſing *Abbey* Lands. But it was ſaid this was preposterous to begin with a limitation of the *Pope*'s authority, before they had acknowledged, that he had any power at all in *England*: and that would come in more properly, after they had reconciled the Nation to him.

New diſputations at *Oxford* with *Cranmer*.

During this Parliament, the Convocation ſat, and that they might remove the objections that ſome made, to the Diſputations at their laſt meeting, that the ableſt Men of the Reformers were kept in Priſon, while that cauſe was debated, they ſent a Committee of their ableſt men to *Oxford*, to diſpute with *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, who were alſo ſent thither. The Points to be diſputed about, were Tranſubſtantiation, and the ſacrifice of the Maſs. When *Cranmer* was brought before them, and they exhorted him to return to the unity of the Church; he anſwered, that he was always for that Unity, which could conſiſt with truth. They

fell

fell into a long dispute concerning the words of the Institution, that they must be true, for Christ was Truth, and was then making his Testament: many Passages of the Fathers were also alledged against him; it was said that he had translated many things falsly out of the Fathers, in his Book: and the Prolocutor called him often an *Unlearned and Impudent Man*: But he carried himself with that gravity and mildness, that many were observ'd to be much affected at it, and to weep: he vindicated his sincerity in his Book, he shewed that Figurative speeches were true, and when the Figures were clearly understood, they were likewise plain, he said, the Sacrament was effectually and really Christs Body, as it was broken on the Cross, that is, his Passion effectually applied to us. The whole action was carried with such hissing and insulting, and ended with such shouts of Triumph, as if *Cranmer* had been quite baffled, that it was visible there was nothing intended, but to abuse the ignorant People, and make them believe he was run down. *Ridley* was brought out next day, he began with deep Protestations of his sincerity, and that he had changed the Opinion he had been bred up in, meerly upon the force of Truth; he argued from the Scriptures, that speak of Christs leaving the World, and sitting at the right hand of God; and that the Sacrament was a Memorial, which good and bad might equally receive; that it was against the Humane Nature, to swallow down a living Man;

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Man; that this Opinion was contrary to the humanity of Christ, and was a new Doctrin, unknown to the Fathers, and brought into the Church in the later Ages. *Smith* argued against him, from Christ's appearing to Saint *Stephen*, and to Saint *Paul*, that he might be in more places at once. *Ridley* said, Christ might either come down and appear to them, or a Representation might be made of him, but he could not be both in Heaven and Earth at once. Many of *Chrysostome*'s expressions were alledged, but he said, these were Rhetorical figures, and to be explained by other plainer passages. The dispute was carried on with the same Insultings, that had been used the Day before: and in conclusion, *Weston* the Prolocutor said, they saw the Obstinacy, Vainglory, and Inconstancy of that Man, but they saw likewise the force of Truth; so he bid them cry out with him, *Truth has the Victory*: upon which that was ecchoed over and over again, by the whole Assembly. *Latimer* was brought out next Day, he told them he was Fourscore Years old, and not fit for disputing, so he would declare his Opinion, and then leave them to say what they pleased. He thought the Sacrament was only a Memorial of Christ, all who fed on Christ had Eternal life, and therefore that feeding could not be meant of the Sacrament, since both good and bad received it; he said, his Memory was much impaired, but his Faith was founded on the Word of God; so though he could not dispute well, yet his Faith

Faith was firmly rooted: Upon this there were extraordinary ſhouts raiſed, and during the whole Debates, the noiſe and diſorder was ſuch, that it lookt liker a Countrey Game, than a Diſpute among Divines; four or five ſpoke oft at once, ſo that it was not poſſible to hear what they ſaid, much leſs to anſwer it. The Committee of Convocation condemned them all, as obſtinate Hereticks, and declared them to be no Members of the Church: They appealed from their Sentence to the Judgment of God, and expreſſed great joy in the hopes they had, they ſhould glorifie God by dying for his Truth. *Cranmer* ſent a Petition to the Council, complaining of the diſorder of theſe Diſputes, and of hudling them up in ſuch haſt, that it was viſible, nothing was intended by them, but to ſhuffle up things ſo, that the World might be more eaſily abuſed with the name of a Diſputation. But this was not delivered, for it was intended to keep up this boaſting, that the Champions of the Reformation were publickly baffled. Book III 1554.

It was alſo reſolved to carry ſome of the Priſoners, that were in *London*, to *Cambridge*, and there to erect new Trophies in the ſame manner, they had done at *Oxford*. Upon this, three of the impriſoned Biſhops, and ſeven Divines, ſigned a Paper, by which they declared, that they would engage in no diſpute, except it were in Writing, unleſs it were in the preſence of the Queen,

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or the Council, or before either of the Houſes of Parliament. It was viſible, the deſign of diſputing was not to find out the Truth, otherwiſe it had been done, before theſe Points had been ſo poſitively determined: but now there was no benefit to be expected by it; nor could they look for fair dealing, where their Enemies were to be their Judges: nor would they ſuffer them to ſpeak their minds freely, and after ſo long an Impriſonment, their Books and Papers being kept from them, they could not be furniſhed to anſwer many things that might be objected to them. Then they added a ſhort account of their Perſwaſions in the chief points of Controverſie, which they would be ready to defend on fair and equal terms: and concluded with a charge to all People not to Rebel againſt the Queen, but to obey all her Commands, that were not contrary to the Law of God.

The Pr. of *Spain* lands, and marries the Queen.

In *July*, Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton*: when he ſet foot to Land, he drew his Sword, and carried it a little way naked in his hand. This was interpreted, as a ſign, that he intended to rule by the Sword, but his friends ſaid, it imported, that he would draw his Sword for the defence of the Nation. The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, which he took from him, and gave them back, without the leaſt ſhew of his being pleaſed with this expreſſion of that reſpect done him. This not being ſutable to the Genius of the Nation,

tion, that is much taken with the gracious looks of their Princes, was thought a sign of vast pride and morosenes. The Queen met him at *Winchester*, where they were married: he being then in the XXVII. and she in the XXXVIII. Year of her Age. The Emperour resigned to him his Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*, so they were proclaimed with a Pompous Enumeration of their Titles. The Kings gravity was very unacceptable to the *English*, who love a mean between the stiffnes of the *Spaniards*, and the gaiety of the *French*. But if they did not like his temper, they were out of measure in love with his Bounty and Wealth: for he brought over a vast Treasure with him, the greatest part of which was distributed among those, who for his *Spanish* Gold, had sold their Countrey and Religion. At his coming to *London*, he procured the Pardon of many Prisoners, and among others, of *Holgate* Archbishop of *York*, of whom I find no mention made after this. It is very likely he changed his Religion, otherwise it is not probable that *Philip* would have interceded for him. He also interposed for preserving Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonshire*. *Gardiner* was much set against them, and thought they made but half work, as long as she lived. *Wiat* had accused them, in hopes of saving his life, but when that did not preserve him, he did publickly vindicate them on the Scaffold. The Earl of

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Devonshire, to be freed from all jealousie, went beyond Sea, and dyed a Year after in *Italy*, as some say, of Poison. *Philip* at first took care to preserve Lady *Elizabeth*, on a generous account, pitying her Innocence, and hoping by so acceptable an act of favour, to recommend himself to the Nation: but Interest did soon after fortifie those good and wise Inclinations, for when he grew to be out of hope of issue by the Queen; he considered that the Queen of *Scotland*, who was soon after married to the *Dolphin*, was next in succession after Lady *Elizabeth*; so if she should be put out of the way, the Crown of *England* would have become an Accession to the *French* Crown: and therefore he took care to preserve her, and perhaps he hoped to have wrought so much on her, by the good offices he did her, that if her Sister should dye without Children, she might be induced to marry him. But this was the only grateful thing he did in *England*. He affected so extravagant a state, and was so sullen and silent, that it was not easie for any to come within the Court, and Access to him was not to be had, without demanding it with almost as much formality as Ambassadours used, when they desired an Audience: So that a General discontent was quickly spread into most places of the Kingdom, only *Gardiner* was well pleased, for the Conduct of affairs was put entirely in his hands. Many malicious reports were spread of the Queen, particularly in *Norfolk*; at one of these the

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Queen,

Queen was much concerned, which was, that she was with Child before the King came over; but after great examinations, nothing could be made out of it. Book III 1554.

The Bishops went to make their Visitations this Summer, to see whether the old Service, with all its Rites, was again set up; they also enquired concerning the lives and labours of the Clergy, of their Marriage, and their living chastly; whether they were suspected of Heresie, or of favouring Hereticks? whether they went to Taverns or Alehouses? whether they admitted any to officiate, that had been Ordained schismatically, before they were reconciled, or to preach, if they had not obtained a Licence? whether they visited the sick, and administred the Sacraments reverently? whether they were guilty of Merchandise, or Usury? and whether they did not once every Quarter at least, expound to the People, the Elements of the Christian Religion in the Vulgar Tongue? They did not proceed steadily, in relation to the Ordinations made in King *Edward*'s time; for at this time all that they did, was to add the Ceremonies that were then left out in the Book of Ordinations: but afterwards they carried themselves, as if they had esteemed those Orders of no force; and therefore they did not degrade those Bishops or Priests, that had been ordained by it: Nor has the Church of *Rome* been steady in this matter, for though upon some Schisms, they

The Bishops visit their Dioceses.

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have annulled all Ordinations made in them; yet they have not annulled the Ordinations of the *Greek* Church, though they esteem the *Greeks* both Hereticks and Schismaticks: Thus there were many questions put in among the Articles of the Visitation, yet these were asked only for form, the main business was Heresie, and the performing all Offices according to the old customes: and the least failing in these matters, was more severely enquired after, and more exemplarily punished, than far greater offences. *Bonner* carried himself like a Madman, and it was said by his friends, to excuse the Violences of his rage, that his brains were a little disordered by his long Imprisonment: for if either the Bells had not rung, when he came near any Church, or if he had not found the Sacrament exposed, he was apt to break out into the foulest language: and not content with that, he was accustomed to beat his Clergy, when he was displeased with any thing: for he was naturally cruel and brutal. He took care to have those places of Scripture, that had been painted on the Walls of the Churches to be washed off: and upon this it was said, that it was necessary to dash out the Scripture, to make way for Images, for they agreed so ill, that they could not decently stand together. Many mock Poems and Satires were flying up and down; but none was more provoking, than one that followed on an Accident at Saint *Pauls* on *Easter*-Day: The custom was to lay the Host in the Sepulchre at Even-

Song

Song, on *Good*-Friday, and to take it out on *Easter* Morning; and the Quire Sung these words, *He is risen, he is not here*, when it was taken out: but when they lookt to take it out, they found it was not *there* indeed, for one had stollen it away, but another was quickly brought; so a Ballad was made, that their God was lost, but a new one was put in his room: Great pains was taken to discover the Author of this, but he was not found. Book III 1554.

The Queens third Parliament met on the *11th.* of *November*: In the Writ of Summons the Queens Title of *Supream Head* was left out, though she had hitherto not only used the name, but had assumed the power Imported by it, to a high degree. *Pool* was now suffered to come so near as *Flanders*; and the Temper of the Parliament being quickly found to be favourable to the work he came for, the Queen sent two Lords, *Paget* and *Hastings* for him. Both King and Queen rode in state to *Westminster*, and each had a Sword of state carried before them. The first Bill that past, was a Repeal of *Pool*'s Attainder, it was read by the Commons three times in one Day; and the Bill was passed without making a Session by a short Prorogation. He came over, and entred privately to *London*, on the *24th.* of *November*, for the *Pope*'s authority not being yet acknowledged, he could not be received as a Legate. His Instructions were full, besides the authority commonly lodg- Another Parliament.

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ed with Legates; which consists chiefly in the many Graces and Dispensations, that they are impowered to grant; though it might be expected, that they should come rather to see the Canons obeyed, than broken: only the more scandalous abuses were still reserved to the Popes themselves, whose special Prerogative it has always been, to be the most Eminent Transgressors of all Canons and Constitutions.

The Nation is reconciled to the See of *Rome*.

Pool made his first Speech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the Name of the Common Pastor, inviting them to Return to the Sheepfold of the Church. The Queen felt a strange emotion of joy within her, as he made his Speech, which she thought was a Child quickned in her Belly: and the flattering Court Ladies heightned her belief of it. The Council ordered *Bonner* to sing *Te Deum*; and there were Bonefires, and all other publick demonstrations of joy upon it. The Priests said, that here was another *John Baptist* to come, that leapt in his Mother's Belly, upon the Salutation from Christ's Vicar. Both Houses agreed on an Address to the King and Queen, that they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them to the See of *Rome*, and they offered to repeal all the Laws they had made against the *Pope*'s authority, in sign of their repentance. Upon this, the Cardinal came to the Parliament: He first thanked them for repealing his Attainder, in recompence of which, he

was

was now to reconcile them to the Body of the Church: He made a long Speech, of the Conversion of the *Britains* and *Saxons* to the Faith, and of the Obedience they had payed to the Apostolick See; and of the many favours that See had granted the Crown, of which none was more Eminent than the Title of *Defender of the Faith.* The ruine of the *Greek* Church, and the distractions of *Germany*, and the Confusions themselves had been in, since they departed from the Unity of the Church, might convince them of the necessity of keeping that bond entire. In Conclusion, he gave them and the whole Nation a Plenary Absolution. The rest of the Day was spent in singing *Te Deum*, and the Night in Bonefires. The Act, repealing all Laws made against the *Popes* authority, was quickly past, only it stuck a little, by reason of a Proviso, which the House of Lords put in for some Lands, which the Lord *Wentworth* had of the See of *London*, wch the Commons opposed so much, that after the Bill was offered to the Royal assent, it was cut out of the Parchment by *Gardiner*. 'They did enumerate and repeal all Acts 'made since the 20*th*. of *Hen*. 8. against the '*Pope*'s authority, but all foundations of 'Bishopricks and Cathedrals, all Marriages, 'tho' contrary to the Laws of the Church, 'all Institutions, all Judicial Processes, and 'the settlements made, either of Church or '*Abbey* Lands, were confirmed. The Con-'vocation of *Canterbury* had joyned their 'Intercession with the Cardinal, that he 'would

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1554. 'would confirm the right of the preſent 'Poſſeſſors of thoſe Lands: Upon which he 'did confirm them, but he added a heavy 'charge, requiring thoſe that had any of 'the Goods of the Church, to remember 'the Judgments of God that fell on *Belſhaz-* '*zar*, for profaning the holy Veſſels, though 'they were not taken away by himſelf, but 'by his Father; and that, at leaſt, they 'would take care, that ſuch as ſerved the 'Cures ſhould be ſufficiently maintained: 'all which was put in the Act, and confir- 'med by it, and it was declared, that all 'Suits concerning thoſe Lands were to be 'tried in the Civil Courts: and that it ſhould 'be a *Præmunire*, if any went about to di- 'ſturb the Poſſeſſors, by the pretence of an 'Eccleſiaſtical power. They alſo declared, 'that the Title of *Supream Head of the* '*Church*, did never of right belong to the 'Crown; & enacted that it ſhould be left out 'of Writs in all time coming. All Exempti- 'ons granted to Monaſteries, and now con- 'tinued in Lay-hands, were taken away, 'and all Churches were made ſubject to E- 'piſcopal Juriſdiction, except *Weſtminſter*, '*Windſor*, and the *Tower* of *London*. The 'ſtatute of Mortmain was repealed for 20. 'years to come, and all things were brought 'back to the ſtate in which they were, in 'the 20*th*. year of King *Henry*'s reign. The Lower Houſe of Convocation gave occaſion to many clauſes in this Act, by a Petition which they made to the Upper-houſe, 'conſenting 'to the ſettlement made of Church and

'*Abbey-*

'*Abbey* Lands; and praying that the Sta- Book III
'tute of Mortmain might be repealed, and
'that all the Tithes might be restored to
'the Church: they proposed also some things 1534
'in relation to Religion, for the condem-
'ning and burning all Heretical Books; and
'that great care should be had of the Print-
'ing and venting of Books, that the Church
'should be restored to its former Jurisdi-
'ction, that Pluralities and Non-residence
'might be effectually condemned, and all
'Simoniacal pactions punished, that the
'Clergy might be discharged of paying first-
'fruits and Tenths, that Exemptions might
'be taken away, that all the Clergy should
'go in their Habits, and that they should
'not be sued in a *Præmunire*, till a Prohibiti-
'on were first served and disobeyed, that
'so they might not be surprised and ruined
'a second time. By another Bill all for-
mer Acts made against *Lollards* were revi-
ved. The Commons offered another Bill
for voiding all Leases made by married
Priests, but it was laid aside by the Lords.
Thus were the Pensioners and aspiring Men
in the House of Commons, either redeeming
former faults, or hoping to merit highly by
the forwardness of their Zeal. By another
Bill several things were made Treason: and
'it was declared, that if the Queen died be-
'fore the King, and left any Children, the
'King should have the Government in his
'hands, till they were of Age; and during
'that time the conspiring his Death was
'made *Treason*, but none were to be tried
'for

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'for words, but within ſix Months after 'they were ſpoken. Another Act paſt, declaring it Treaſon in any to pray for the Queens death, unleſs they repented of it, and in that caſe they were to ſuffer Corporal puniſhment at the Judges diſcretion. A ſevere Act was alſo paſſed againſt all that ſpread lying Reports of the King, the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great Officers. Some were to loſe their Hands, others their Ears, and others were to be fined according to the degree of their offence.

Gardiners policy in the ſteps of this change.

And thus all affairs were carried in Parliament, as well as the Court could wiſh: and upon this, *Gardiner*'s reputation was much raiſed, for bringing about ſo great a change in ſo little time, with ſo little oppoſition. He took much pains to remove all the Objections, that were generally made uſe of: they were chiefly two, the one was the fear of coming under ſuch Tyranny from *Rome*, as their Anceſtors had groaned under; and the other was the loſs of the *Abbey*-Lands. But to the firſt, he ſaid, that all the old Laws againſt Proviſions from *Rome*, ſhould ſtill continue in force: and to ſhew them, that Legates ſhould exerciſe no dangerous authority in *England*, he made *Pool* take out a Licence, under the Great Seal, for his Legatine power. As for the other, he promiſed both an Act of Parliament, and Convocation, confirming them, and undertook that the *Pope* ſhould ratifie theſe, as well as his Legate did now conſent to them. But to all this, it was anſwer-

anſwered, that if the Nation were again brought under the old Superſtition, and the Papal authority eſtabliſhed, it would not be poſſible to bridle that power, which would be no longer kept within limits, if once they became Maſters again, and brought the World under a blind obedience. It was objected, that the Church-Lands muſt be certainly taken back, it was not likely the *Pope* would confirm the alienation of them; but though he ſhould do it, yet his Succeſſors might annul that as ſacrilegious. And it was obſerved in the charge, which *Pool* gave to all, to make reſtitution; & by the repeal of the ſtatute of Mortmain, that it was intended to poſſeſs the Nation with an Opinion of the Unlawfulneſs of keeping thoſe Lands, which would probably work much on Men that were near death, and could not reſiſt the terrours of Purgatory, or perhaps of Hell, for the ſin of Sacriledge: and ſo would be eaſily induced to make reſtitution of them, eſpecially at ſuch a time when they were not able to poſſeſs them any longer themſelves.

Now the Parliament was at an end: and the firſt thing taken into conſideration, was, what way they ought to proceed againſt the Hereticks. *Pool* had been ſuſpected to bear ſome favour to them formerly, but he took great care to avoid all occaſions of being any more blamed for that: and indeed he lived in that diſtruſt of all the *Engliſh*, that he opened his thoughts to very few: for his chief Confidents

Conſultations about the way of proceeding againſt Hereticks.

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Confidents were two *Italians* that came over with him, *Priuli* and *Ormaneto*. Secretary *Cecyl*, who in matters of Religion complied with the preſent time, was obſerved to have more of his favour than any *Engliſh* Man had. *Pool* was an Enemy to all ſevere proceedings, he thought Churchmen ſhould have the tenderneſs of a Father, and the care of a Shepherd, and ought to reduce, but not devour the ſtray ſheep: he had obſerved that Cruelty rather inflamed than cured that Diſtemper: he thought the better and ſurer way, was to begin with an effectual Reformation of the manners of the Clergy, ſince it was the ſcandals given by their ill conduct and Ignorance, that was the chief cauſe of the growth of Hereſie: ſo he concluded, that if a Primitive Diſcipline ſhould be revived, the Nation would by degrees lay down their prejudices, and might in time be gained by gentle methods. *Gardiner*, on the other hand, being of an abject and cruel temper himſelf, thought the ſtrict execution of the Laws againſt the *Lollards*, was that to which they ought chiefly to truſt: if the *Preachers* were made publick Examples, he concluded the People would be eaſily reclaimed: for he pretended, that it was viſible, if King *Henry* had executed the Act of the ſix Articles vigorouſly, all would have ſubmitted: he confeſſed a Reformation of the Clergy was a good thing, but all times could not bear it: if they ſhould proceed ſeverely againſt ſcandalous Church-

Churchmen, the Hereticks would take advantage from that, to defame the Church the more, and raise a clamour against all Clergymen. *Gardiner*'s spite was at this time much whetted by the reprinting of his Books of true Obedience, which was done at *Strasburg*, and sent over. In it he had called King *Henry*'s marriage with Queen *Catherine*, *Incestuous*, and had justified his Divorce, and his *second Marriage with his most godly and vertuous Wife, Queen Anne.* This was a severe exposing of him, but he had brow enough, and bore down these reproaches, by saying *Peter* had denied his Master: but others said a Compliance of 25. years continuance was very unjustly compared to a sudden denial, that was presently expiated with so sincere a Repentance. The Queen was for joining both these Councils together, and intended to proceed at the same time, both against scandalous Churchmen and Hereticks. After the Parliament was over, there was a solemn Procession of many Bishops and Priests, *Bonner* carrying the Host, to thank God for reconciling the Nation again to Saint *Peter*'s Chair; and it having been done on St. *Andrew*'s Day, that was appointed to be an Anniversary, and was called *The Feast of the Reconciliation.*

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But soon after began the Persecution: *Rogers*, *Hooper*, *Taylor*, *Bradford*, and seven more were brought before the Council, and asked one by one, if they would return

1555. A Persecution set on foot.

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turn to the Union of the Catholick Church, and acknowledge the *Pope*: but they all answered resolutely, that they had renounced the *Pope*'s power, as all the Bishops had also done; they were assured he had no authority, but over his own Dioceſs, for the first four Ages, so they could not submit to his Tyranny. *Gardiner* told them, Mercy was now offered them, but if they rejected it, Justice would be done next: so they were all sent back to Prison, except one, who had great Friends, so he was only asked, if he would be an honest man, and upon that promise was dismist. They began with *Rogers*, whose Imprisonment was formerly mentioned. Many had advised him to make his escape, and flie to *Germany*: but he would not do it, though a Family of Ten Children was a great Temptation.

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Rogers and *Hooper* condemned, and burnt.

Both he and *Hooper* were brought before *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstall*, and three other Bishops. They asked them whether they would submit to the Church, or not? but they answered, that they looked on the Church of *Rome*, as Antichristian. *Gardiner* said, that was a reproach on the *Queen*. *Rogers* said, they honoured the *Queen*, and lookt for no ill at her hands, but as she was set on to it by them; Upon that *Gardiner*, and the other Bishops declared, that so far were they from setting on the *Queen* to the executing of the Law, that she commanded them to do it, and this was confirmed by two Privy Councellours that were present.

preſent. In concluſion, they gave them time till next Morning to conſider what they would do, and then they continuing firm, they declared them obſtinate Hereticks, and degraded them: but they did not eſteem *Hooper* a Biſhop, ſo he was only degraded from the Order of Prieſthood. *Rogers* was not ſuffered to ſee his Wife nor his Children, yet ſo little did this terrible ſentence fright him, that the morning of his Execution, he was ſo faſt aſleep, that he was not eaſily awakened: He was carried from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, on the *4th.* of *February*, a Pardon was offered him at the ſtake, if he would recant, but he refuſed it on ſuch terms; and ſaid he would not exchange a quick fire for Everlaſting burnings, but declared that he reſigned up his Life with joy, as a teſtimony to the Doctrine which he had preached. *Hooper* was ſent to *Gloceſter*, at which he rejoyced, for he hoped by his death to confirm many there. He ſpake to ſeveral, whom he had formerly known, ſome of them, in compaſſion to him, wept by him, which made him ſhed tears; but he ſaid, all he had ſuffered in his Impriſonment, had not moved him to do ſo much: he was burnt on the *9th.* of *February*: a Pardon was alſo offered him at the Stake, but to no effect. A great Wind blew while he was burning, and hindred the Flame to riſe up and choke him, or deſtroy his Vitals; ſo that he was near three quarters of an hour in great Torment, but he continued ſtill calling on

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God; his last words were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* *Sanders*, that had been Minister at *Coventry*, and *Taylor* that was Minister at *Hadly*, were at the same time condemned, and sent to be burnt at the places where they had served: The former was first committed for preaching without Licence, after the Queens Prohibition; and the latter for making opposition to some Priests, that broke violently into his Church, and said Mass in it. *Gardiner* was in hope, that these four Executions being made in several parts of *England*, would have struck so general a terrour in the whole Party, that there would have been little occasion for further severities: but when he saw six more were soon after apprehended on the same account, and that the spirits of those, call'd *Hereticks*, were now rather inflam'd than depressed, he resolved to meddle no more in those Trials; and turned over that Invidious matter to *Bonner*, whose temper was so cruel, that he undertook it cheerfully.

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The burnings much condemned.

These severities were very hateful to the Nation. It was observed, that in King *Edward*'s time, those that opposed the Laws, were only turned out of their Benefices, and some few of them were put in Prison; but now Men were put in Prison on trifling pretences, and kept there till Laws were made, by which they were condemned meerly for their Opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to Law. One Piece of Cruelty was also singular: when the Council

cil sent away those that were to be burnt in the Countrey, they threatned to cut out their Tongues, if they would not promise to make no Speeches to the People; which they, to avoid that butchery, were forced to promise. Some made reflections on the length and sharpness of *Hooper*'s Torment, as a punishment on him, for the contest he had raised in the Church about the Vestments: *Ridley* and he had been entirely reconciled, and writ very affectionate Letters to one another. The sense they had of those differences, when they were preparing for another World, and that bitter passage, through which they were to go to it, ought to inspire all others with more moderate thoughts in such matters. Those that loved the Reformation, were now possessed with great aversion to the Popish Party, and the whole Body of the Nation grew to dislike this Cruelty; and came to hate King *Philip* for it. *Gardiner*, and the other Councellours had openly said, that the Queen set them on to it, so the blame of it was laid on the King, the sowreness of whose temper, together with his bigottry in matters of Religion, made it seem reasonable to charge him with it. He finding that this was like to raise such prejudices against him, as might probably spoil his design of making himself Master of *England*, took care to vindicate himself. So his Confessor *Alphonsus*, a *Franciscan*, preached a Sermon at *Court*, against the taking of Peoples lives for Opinions in Religion; and Inveighed

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againſt the Biſhops for doing it: By this the blame of it was turned back on them, and this made them ſtop for ſome Weeks; but at laſt they reſolved rather to bear the blame of the Perſecution avowedly, than not to go on in it.

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Arguments againſt them, and for them.

At this time a Petition was printed beyond Sea; by which the Reformers addreſſed themſelves to the Queen, they ſet before her the danger of her being carried by a blind zeal, to deſtroy the Members of *Chriſt*, as St. *Paul* had done before his Converſion: they remembred her of *Cranmer*'s interpoſing to preſerve her Life in her Fathers time: they cited many Paſſages out of the Books of *Gardiner*, *Bonner* and *Tonſtall*, by which ſhe might ſee that they were not acted by true Principles of Conſcience, but were turned as their Fears or Intereſts led them. They ſhewed her how contrary Perſecution was to the ſpirit of the Goſpel, that Chriſtians tolerated *Jews*; and that *Turks*, notwithſtanding the barbarity of their tempers, and the Cruelty of their Religion, yet tolerated Chriſtians. They remembred her, that the firſt Law for burning in *England*, was made by *Henry* the *IV.* as a reward to the Biſhops, who had helped him to depoſe *Richard* the ſecond, and ſo to mount to the Throne. They repreſented to her, that God had truſted her with the Sword, which ſhe ought to imploy for the protection of her People, & was not to abandon them to the Cruelty of ſuch Wolves: The Petition

Petition also turned to the Nobility, and rest of the Nation, and the dangers of a *Spanish* Yoke, and a bloody Inquisition were set before them. Upon this the *Popish* Authors writ several Books in Justification of those proceedings. They observed that the *Jews* were commanded to put blasphemers to death; and said the Hereticks blasphemed the Body of Christ, and called it only a piece of Bread. It became Christians to be more zealous for the true Religion, than Heathens were for the false: Saint *Peter*, by a Divine Power, struck *Ananias* and *Saphira* dead. Christ, in the Parable, said, *Compel them to enter in.* Saint *Paul* said, *I would they were cut off that trouble you.* Saint *Austin* was once against all severities in such cases, but changed his mind, when he saw the good effects that some Banishments and Fines had on the *Donatists*: That on which they insisted most, was, the burning of *Anabaptists* in King *Edward*'s time. So they were now fortified in their cruel Intentions, and resolved to spare none, of what Age, Sex, or condition soever they might be. Book III 1555.

Bonner kept one *Tomkins*, a Weaver, some Months in his House, who was found to doubt of the Presence in the Sacrament, he used divers Violences to him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, till the Veins and Sinews burst; and these not prevailing, to make him change, he was

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at last burnt in *Smithfield*. One *Hunter*, an Apprentice, not above XIX. Years old, was condemned and burnt on the same account.

1555. *Bonner* was so much concerned to preserve him, that he offered him *Forty Pound* to change: so mercenary did he think other Mens consciences were, measuring them probably by his own. Two Gentlemen, *Causton* and *Higbed*, one *Lawrence* a Priest, and two meaner Persons, were burnt near their own Houses in *Essex*. The Method in these, and in all the other proceedings, during the rest of this reign, was summary, and *ex officio:* Upon complaints made, Persons were imprisoned, and Articles containing the Points, for which they were suspected, were offered to them, which they were required to answer; and if their answers were Heretical, they were burnt for them, without any thing being objected to them, or proved against them. *Ferrar*, that had been Bishop of S. *Davids*, was dealt with in the same manner, by his Successor *Morgan*. When he was condemned, he appealed to Cardinal *Pool*, but that had no other effect, save, that his Execution was stopt three Weeks. *Rawlins White*, a poor Fisherman, was condemned by the Bishop of *Landaffe*, and afterwards burnt: *Marsh* a Priest, was burnt at *Chester*; and to the ordinary Cruelty of burning, they added a new Invention of pouring melted Pitch on his Head. One *Flower*, a rash and furious Man, wounded a Priest at S. *Margaret's Westminster*, as he

was

was officiating, for which being seised on, and found to be an Heretick, he was condemned and burnt. The fact was disapproved by all the Reformed, and he became sincerely Penitent for it, before he died. After this, for some Weeks, there was a stop put to those severities.

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The Queen about this time sent for her Treasurer, and some of the other Officers of her Revenue, and told them, that she thought her self bound in Conscience to restore all the Lands of the Church, that were then in her hands; she thought they were unlawfully acquired, and that they could not be held by her without a sin, therefore she declared she would have them disposed of, as Cardinal *Pool* should think fit. Some imputed this to a Bull set out by the *Pope*, excommunicating all that kept any Lands belonging to Abbies or Churches: This alarmed many in *England*, but *Gardiner* pacified them, and told them, that Bull was made only for *Germany*, and that no Bull did bind in *England*, till it was received. But this did not satisfie Inquisitive People, for a sin in *Germany* was likewise a sin in *England*, and if the *Pope*'s authority came from Christ, it ought to take place every where equally.

The Queen restores the Church-Lands.

Pope *Julius* died in *March*, and *Marcellus* was chosen to succeed him: he turned his thoughts wholly to the Reformation of abuses: He suffered none of his Nephews,

Marcellus chosen *Pope*. *Paul* the IV. succeeds.

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1555. nor Kindred to come to *Court*, and resolved effectually to put down Non-residence and Pluralities: but he found it very difficult to bring about the good designs he had projected, and that the *Popes* power was such, that it was more easie for him to do mischief, than good: which made him once cry out, That he did not see how any could be saved, that sat in that Chair. These things wrought so much on him, that he sickned within Twelve Days of his Election, and died Ten Days after that. Upon his death, the Queen endeavoured to engage the *French* to consent to the Promotion of Cardinal *Pool*, which she did without his knowledge or approbation: but at *Rome* they were so apprehensive of another *Pope* set on Reformations, that they made hast in their choice; and set up *Caraffa*, called *Paul* the Fourth, who was the most extravagantly ambitious and insolent *Pope*, that had reigned of a great while.

The *English* Ambassadours come to *Rome*.

On the day of his Election, the *English* Ambassadors entred *Rome* in great state, having in their Train 140. Horse of their own Attendants, but the Pope would not admit them to an Audience, till they had accepted of a Grant of the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; for he pretended it belonged only to him to confer those Titles. The Ambassadours, it seems, knew it was the Queen's mind, that they should in every thing submit to the *Pope*, and so took that grant from him. Their Publick Audience

was

was given in great Solemnity, in which the *Pope* declared, that in token of his pardoning the Nation, 'he had added to 'the Crown the Title of the Kingdom of '*Ireland*, by that Supream Power which 'God had given him to destroy, or to build 'Kingdomes at his pleasure. But in private 'discourse, he complained much, that the *Ab-* '*bey*-Lands were not restored. He said it was 'beyond his power to confirm Sacriledge, 'and all were obliged, under the pains of 'damnation, to restore to the last farthing, 'every thing that belonged to the Church: 'he said likewise, that he would send over 'a Collector to gather the *Peter*-Pence, for 'they could not expect that St. *Peter* would 'open Heaven to them, so long as they de- 'nied him his rights upon Earth. These were heavy tidings to the Lord *Mountacute*, (Sir *Anthony Brown*) whose Estate consisted chiefly of *Abbey*-Lands, that was one of the Ambassadours. But the *Pope* would endure no contradiction, and repeated this every time they came to him.

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In *England*, Orders were sent to the Justices to look narrowly to the Preachers of Heresie, and to have secret Spies in every Parish, for giving them Information of all Peoples behaviour. This was imputed to the fowrness of *Spanish* Councils, and seemed to be taken from that base practice of the *Roman* Emperours, that had their Informers (or *Delatores*) that went into all Companies, and accommodated themselves to all Men's Tempers, till they had drawn them

The *English* grow backward in the Persecution.

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1555. them into some discourses against the State, and thereby ruined them. People grew so averse to Cruelty, that *Bonner* himself finding how odious he was become, and observing the slackness of the other Bishops, refused not to meddle any further, and burnt none in five Weeks time: Upon which the Queen writ to him, and required him to do the Office of a good Pastor, and either to reclaim the Hereticks, or to proceed against them according to Law: and he quickly shewed how ready he was to mend his pace, upon such an admonition.

The Queens delivery in vain lookt for.

In the beginning of *May*, the *Court* was in expectation of the Queen's Delivery. The Envoys were named, that were to carry the good News to the neighbouring Courts: the tidings of it did flye over *England*, and *Te Deum* was sung upon it in several Cathedrals. But it proved to be a false conception, and all hopes of Issue by her, vanished. This tended much to alienate King *Philip* from her; and he finding it more necessary to look after his Hereditary Crowns, than to stay in *England*, where he had no hopes of making himself Master, left her, and that increased her Melancholy.

More Hereticks burnt.

New Fires were kindled. *Cardmaker*, that had been a Prebendary at *Bath*, and *Warne* a Tradesman, were burnt in *Smithfield*, in *May*. The body of one that suffered for Robbery, but at his Execution said somewhat

what savouring of Heresie, was burnt for it. Seven were burnt in several parts of *Essex*. They were condemned by *Bonner*, and sent down to be burnt near the places of their abode. The Council writ to the Great Men of the County, to gather many together, and assist at those Spectacles: and when they heard that some had come of their own accord to the burnings at *Colchester*, they writ to the Lord *Rich* to give their thanks to those Persons for their Zeal, so dexterously did they study to cherish a spirit of Cruelty among the People. *Bradford*, who had been committed soon after he had saved *Bourne* in the Tumult at Saint *Paul's*, had been condemned with the rest, and was preserved till *July*. He was so much considered, that *Heath* Archbishop of *York*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Weston* and *Harpsfield*, with the King's Confessor, and *Alphonsus à Castro* went to see, if they could prevail on him, and had long Conferences with him in Prison, but all to no purpose. *Bourn* was made Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and his Brother was Secretary of State; but though *Bradford* had preserved his life, yet he neither came to visit him, nor did he interpose for his life; on the contrary, it was objected to *Bradford*, that by his carriage in suppressing that Tumult, it appeared that he had set it on: but he appealed to God, who saw how unworthily they returned him evil for good: and he appealed to *Bourn*, who was sitting among the Bishops that judged him, if he had not prayed

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ed him for the Passion of Christ to endeavour his preservation; and if he had not done it, at the hazard of his own Life: But *Bourn*, as he was ashamed to accuse him, so he had not the honesty, nor the courage to vindicate him: a young Apprentice was burnt with him, whom he encouraged much in his sufferings, and in transports of joy, he hugged the Faggots that were laid about him. *Thornton*, *Harpsfield*, and others, set on a Persecution at *Canterbury*, though Cardinal *Pool* was averse to it, but he durst not now discover so much, for the Pope had an inveterate hatred to him, and was resolved upon the first occasion to recall him, and for that end, he entred in a Correspondence with *Gardiner*, who hoped thereby to have been made a Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*: and upon the hopes he had of that, he still preserved *Cranmer*, for tho' he was now condemned for Heresie, yet the See was not esteemed void, till he was formally degraded. Some said it was fit to begin with him, that had been the chief promoter of Heresie in *England*. But *Gardiner* said, it was better to try if it could be possible to shake him, for it would be a great blow to the whole Party, if he could be wrought on to forsake it, whereas if he should be burnt, and should dye with such resolution as others expressed, it would much raise the spirits of his followers. The See of *Canterbury* was now only sequestred in *Pool*'s hands, and

and he being afraid of falling under the *Pope*'s rage, was willing to let the cruel Prebendaries do what they pleased. They burnt two Priests, and two Laymen at *Canterbury*, and sent a Man and a Woman to be burnt in other Places in *Kent*. Two that belonged to the Dioceses of *Winchester* and *Chichester* were condemned by *Bonner*, and were burnt near the places of their abode. There were at this time several pretended discoveries of Plots both in *Dorsetshire* and *Essex:* and Orders were given to draw Confessions from some that were apprehended, by Torture, but the thing was let fall, for it was grounded only on the surmises of the Clergy. Book III 1555.

The Queen was this Year rebuilding the House of the *Franciscans* at *Greenwich*, and had recalled *Peyto* and *Elston*, of which mention was made, *Book* 1. *pag.* 117. the one she made her Confessor, and the other was to be Guardian of that House: The People expressed such hatred of them, that as they were passing upon the River, some threw stones at them: but they that did it, could not be discovered. Judge *Rastall* published Sir *Tho. More*'s Works at this time; but as was formerly observed, he left out his Letter concerning the Nun of *Kent*; though it lies among his other Letters, in that very Manuscript, out of which he published them. He prefixed nothing concerning *More*'s Life, to his Works, which makes it highly probable, that he never

Religious Houses set up.

More's Works published.

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never writ it: for this was the proper time and place for publishing it, if he had ever writ it. So that Manuscript life of *Mores*, pretended to be writ by him, out of which many things have been quoted since that time, to the disgrace of King *Henry*, and *Anne Boleyn*, must be a later forgery contrived in spite to Queen *Elizabeth*. 'The 'Queen did now go on with her Intentions, 'of founding Religious Houses out of those 'Abbey-Lands, that were still in the Crown. 'She recommended it also to the Councils 'care, that every where there might be 'good Preaching, and that there might be 'a Visitation of the Universities: she desi-'red that Justice might be done on the He-'reticks, in such a manner, that the People 'might be well satisfied about it, and prest 'them to take care, that there might be no 'Pluralities in *England*, and that the Prea-'chers might give good Example, as well 'as make good Sermons.

The burnings went on: Seven were burnt in *August* in several places; six more were burnt in one fire at *Canterbury*, and four were burnt in other places, but the particular days are not marked. In *September* five were burnt at *Canterbury*, and seven in other places. In *October* two were burnt at *Ely*, by *Shaxton*'s means, who now compleated his Apostasie by his Cruelty. The 16*th* of that month became remarkable by the sufferings of *Ridley* and *Latimer*. Three Bishops, *Lincoln*, *Glocester* and *Bristol* were sent with a Commission from Cardinal *Pool*, to

Ridley and *Latimer* are burnt.

to proceed againſt them. *Ridley* ſaid, he payed great reſpect to *Pool* as he was of the Royal Family, and eſteemed him much for his Learning and Vertues, but as he was the Popes Legate, he would expreſs no reverence to him, nor would uncover himſelf before any that acted by authority from him. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* exhorted him, 'To return to the obedience of the 'See of S. *Peter*, on whom Chriſt had 'founded his Church, to which the Ancient 'Fathers had ſubmitted, and which himſelf 'had once acknowledged: He began his anſwer with a Proteſtation, 'That he did not 'thereby ſubmit to the authority of the Pope 'or his Legate; he ſaid Chriſt had founded 'his Church not on St. *Peter*, but on the 'Faith which he had confeſſed: The Bi'ſhops of *Rome* had been held in great 'eſteem, but that was either on the ac'count of their perſonal worth, or by rea'ſon of the dignity of the City: He con'feſſed he had once been involved in that 'ſuperſtition; but St. *Paul* was once a 'Blaſphemer: And he had diſcovered ſuch 'errors in that See, that he would never 'acknowledge it any more. *Latimer* adhered to what he ſaid. A nights reſpite was granted them, but they continuing ſtedfaſt next day, they were condemned as obſtinate Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the Writs were ſent down for their burning. They prepared themſelves for it with ſuch patience and cheerfulneſs as very much amazed their Keepers: As they

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they were led out, they lookt up to *Cranmer*'s Window, but he was not in it, for he was then held in dispute by some Friers; yet he lookt after them, with a very tender sense of their condition, and prayed earnestly to God to assist them in their sufferings. When they came to the Stake, they embraced and encouraged one another. *Smith* preached on those words, *If I give my body to be burnt, and have not Charity it profiteth nothing:* And he compared their dying for Heresie, to *Judas*'s that hanged himself. *Ridley* desired leave to answer some points in his Sermon; but it was told him, that he was not to be suffer'd to speak, except he intended to recant: So he turned himself to God, when he saw men were resolved to be so unreasonable to him. He sent a desire to the Queen, in behalf of the Tenants of the Bishoprick of *London*, from whom he had taken Fines, for which he had renewed their Leases; and prayed that either their Leases might be confirmed, or that their Fines might be restored out of his goods, which had been seized on when he was first put in prison: After both had prayed, and undressed themselves, the fire was kindled. Some Gun-powder was hanged about their necks, and that being fired, put *Latimer* quickly out of his pain; but *Ridley* had a more lingring torment: For they threw on so much wood that it was long before the flame broke through it; and his Legs were almost wholly consumed before the flame choaked him.

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him. Thus did these two Bishops end their days and their Ministry: The one was esteemed to be the ablest of all that advanced the Reformation, both for Piety, Learning, and solidity of Judgement; the other was lookt on as a truly Primitive Bishop, that seemed to have more of the simplicity of the first Ages, than the politeness or the learning of later times. *Ridley* was ill rewarded both by *Bonner* and *Heath*; he had used *Bonner*'s Mother and Friends with great kindness, while he was Bishop of *London*; and had kept the latter a year and a half in his house, after he fell in trouble, but he made him ill returns; and when he went through *Oxford* he did not so much as visit him: And so far had men been taught to put off all humanity, that during their Imprisonment in *Oxford*, none of the University either came to visit them, or took care to relieve their necessities.

It was observed that *Gardiner* was very impatient to have those Bishops burnt, and delayed his dinner that day till the news should be brought him, that the Fire was kindled: But at dinner he was taken with an illness, which turned to a suppression of Urine, of which he died the twelfth of *November*. He went twice to the Parliament which was opened the twenty first of *October*, but could go abroad no more; he expressed great sorrow for his former sins, and often said, *He had erred with St.* Peter, *but had not repented with him.* He was belie-

Gardiner's death.

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ved to be of noble extraction, though basely born; for his true father was supposed to be *Richard Woodvill*, that was Brother to *Edward* the Fourth's Queen, Grandmother to King *Henry* the Eighth: And this was believed to be the occasion of his sudden preferment to the See of *Winchester*. So those that reflected on him for his opposition to the Married state, said that no wonder if persons basely born, as both he and *Bonner* were, had no regard to that state of life. He was learned in the Civil and Canon Law; he had a good *Latin* stile, and had some knowledge in the *Greek* Tongue, but was a very indifferent Divine: He had a quickness of apprehension, with a great knowledge of mankind, and the Intrigues of Courts: He had all the arts of Insinuation and Flattery, and was inferiour to none in profound Dissimulation. He died now when he had the prospect of a Cardinals Hat, and of all the honours which a Pope, that found him after his own heart, could do him. *Heath* was made Chancellour during pleasure, and the Queen gave to the See of *York* the Duke of *Suffolk*'s house, fallen to her by his Attainder, in recompence for *White-hall*, and it was afterwards called *York-House*.

The Parliament ill pleased with the Queens conduct.

The Parliament was now assembled, and it appeared that the Nation was much turned in their affections. It was proposed to give the Queen a Subsidy, and two fifteenths. This was the first aid that the Queen had

had asked, though she was now in the third year of her Reign; and what was now desired, was no more than what she might have exacted at her first coming to the Crown; and since she had forgiven so much at her Coronation, it seemed unreasonable to deny it now: Yet great opposition was made to it. Many said, the Queen was impoverishing the Crown, and giving away the Abbey-Lands, and therefore she ought to be supplied by the Clergy, and not turn to the Laity: But it was answered, that the Convocation had given her 6 *s.* in the pound, but that would not serve her present occasions; so the debate grew high: But to prevent further heats the Queen sent a Message, declaring that she would accept the Subsidy without the fifteenths, and upon that it was granted. The Queen sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him she could not with a good Conscience exact the Tenths and First-fruits of the Clergy, since they were given to her Father to support his unlawful dignity, of being the *Supream Head of the Church*: She also thought, that all Tythes and Impropriations were the Patrimony of the Church, and therefore was resolved to resign such of them as were in her hands. The former part past easily in the House, but great opposition was made to the latter part of her motion: for it was lookt on as a step to the taking all the impropriations out of the hands of the Laity; yet upon a division of the House, it went so near that 126

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were against it, and 193 were for it, so it was carried by 67 voices. A Bill was put in against the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and several others that favoured the Reformation, and had gone beyond Sea that they might freely enjoy their Consciences; requiring them to return, under severe penalties: The Lords past it, but the Commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the severe Laws they had already consented to, and resolved to add no more. They also rejected another Bill, for incapacitating some to be Justices of Peace, who were complained of for their remissness in prosecuting Hereticks. An Act was put in for debarring one *Bennet Smith*, who had hired some Assassinates to commit a most detestable Murder, from the benefit of Clergy; which by the course of the Common Law, would have saved him. This was an invention of the Priests, that if any, who was capable of entring into Orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a Widow, could read, and vowed to take Orders, he was to be saved in many criminal cases. And it was looked on as a part of the Ecclesiastical Immunity; which made diverse of the Bishops oppose this Act; Yet it past, though four of them, and five Temporal Lords protested against it. There was such heat in the House of Commons in this Parliament, that one Sir *Anth. Kingston*, who was a great stickler, called one day for the Keys of the House; but when the Parliament was dissolved, he

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was sent to the *Tower* for it: He was soon after set at liberty, but next year he and six others, were accused of a design of robbing the Exchequer: He died before he was brought up to *London*; the other six were hanged: But the Evidence against them does not appear on Record.

Cardinal *Pool* called a Convocation, having first procured a Licence from the Queen, empowering them both to meet, and to make such Canons as they should think fit. This was done to preserve the Prerogatives of the Crown, and to secure the Clergy, that they might not be afterwards brought under a *Præmunire*. In it several decrees were proposed by *Pool*, and assented to by the Clergy: 1. For observing the Feast of the Reconciliation made with *Rome*, with great solemnity: They also condemned all Heretical Books, and received that exposition of the Faith which Pope *Eugenius* sent from the Council of *Florence* to the *Armenians*. 2. For the decent administration of the Sacraments, and putting down the yearly Feasts in the dedications of Churches. 3. They required all Bishops and Priests to lay aside Secular cares, and to give themselves wholly to the Pastoral charge: And all Pluralists were required to resign all their benefices except one, within two months, otherwise to forfeit all. 4. Bishops were required to preach often, and to provide good Preachers for their Dioceses, to go over them as their Visitors. 5. All the Pomp and Luxury of the

Pools decrees for the Reformation of the Clergy.

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Tables, Servants, and Families of the Bishops was condemned; and they were required chiefly to lay out their Revenues on works of Charity. 6. They were required not to give Orders, but after a long and strict Trial; which they ought to make themselves, and not to turn it over to others. 7. They were charged not to bestow Benefices upon partial regards, but to confer them on the most deserving, and to take them bound by Oath, to reside upon them. 8. Against giving Advowsons before Benefices fell vacant. 9. Against Symony. 10. Against Dilapidations. 11. For Seminaries in every Cathedral for the Diocess; and the Clergy were taxed in a fourth part of their Benefices for their maintenance: The twelfth was about Visitations.

It was designed also to set out four Books of Homilies: The first for points of Controversie; the second was for the exposition of the Creed, the Lords Prayer, the ten Commandments, the *Ave*, and the Sacraments: The third was to be a Paraphrase on all the Lessons on Holy-days; and the fourth was to be concerning the several Vertues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. In these, the wise and good temper of Cardinal *Pool* may be well discerned. He thought the people were more wrought on by the scandals they saw in the Clergy, than by the Arguments which they heard from the Reformers; and therefore he reckoned if Pluralities and

and Non-residences, and the other abuses of Church-men could have been removed, and if he could have brought the Bishops to have lived better, and laboured more, to be stricter in giving Orders, and more impartial in conferring Benefices, and if he could have established Seminaries in Cathedrals, Heresie might have been driven out of the Nation by gentler methods than by Racks and Fires: In one thing he shewed the meanness of his Spirit, that though he himself condemned cruel proceedings against Hereticks, yet he both gave Commissions to other Bishops and Arch-Deacons to try them, and suffered a great deal of Cruelty to be exercised in his own Dioceſs; but he had not courage enough to resist Pope *Paul* the Fourth, who thought of no other way for bearing down Heresie, but by setting up Courts of Inquisition every where. He had clapt up Cardinal *Morone*, that was *Pool*'s great friend, in prison, upon suspicion of Heresie; and would very probably have used himself so, if he had got him at *Rome*.

The *Jesuites* were at this time beginning to grow considerable: They were tied, besides their other Vows, to an absolute obedience to the See of *Rome*; and set themselves every where to open Free Schools, for the education of youth, and to bear down Heresie. They were excused from the hours of the Quire, and so were looked on as a mungrel Order, between the

He refuses to bring the *Jesuites* to *England*.

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Regulars and the Seculars. They proposed to Cardinal *Pool*, that since the Queen was restoring the Abbey-Lands, it would be to little purpose to give them again to the *Benedictine* Order; which was now rather a clog than a help to the Church: And therefore they desired that Houses might be assigned to them, for maintaining Schools and Seminaries; and they did not doubt but they should quickly both drive out Heresie, and recover the Church Lands. *Pool* did not listen to this, for which he was much censured by the Fathers of that Society. It is not certain whether he had then the sagacity to foresee that disorder which they were like to bring into the Government of the Church, and that corruption of Morals that had since flowed from their Schools, and has been infused by them generally in Confessions, so that their whole Church is now over run with it.

More of the Reformed are burnt.

Three were burnt at one Stake in *Canterbury* in *November*, and *Philpot* was burnt in *Smithfield*, in *December*: he had been put in Prison, soon after that Convocation was dissolved, in which he had disputed in the beginning of this Reign: and was now brought out to the Stake. In all sixty seven were burnt this Year, of whom Four were Bishops, and Thirteen were Priests.

Affairs in *Germany*.

In *Germany*, a Diet was held, in which it was left free to all the Temporal Princes, to set up what Religion they pleased; but a restraint was put on the Ecclesiastical Princes.

Princes. Both *Ferdinand*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, appointed the Chalice to be given to the Laity in their Dominions, at which the *Pope* ſtormed highly, and threatned to depoſe them: for that was his common ſtile, when he was diſpleaſed with any Prince. The Reſignation of *Charles* the Fifth, which was begun this Year, and compleated the next, drew the Eyes of all *Europe* upon it. He had enjoyed his Hereditary Dominions Forty years, and the Empire Thirty ſix. He had endured great Fatigues, by the many Journies he had made; Nine into *Germany*, ſix into *Spain*, ſeven into *Italy*, four through *France*: he was ten times in the *Netherlands*, made two Expeditions to *Africk*, and was twice in *England*: and had croſſed the Sea eleven times. He had unuſual ſucceſs in his Wars, he had taken a *Pope*, a King of *France*, and ſome *German* Princes, Priſoners: and had a vaſt acceſſion of Wealth and Empire from the *Weſt*-Indies: but now as ſucceſs followed him no more, ſo he was much afflicted with the Gout, and grew to be much out of love with the Pomp and Vanities of this World, and ſo ſeriouſly to prepare for another Life. He reſigned all his Dominions with a greatneſs of mind, that was much ſuperiour to all his other Conqueſts. He retired to a private Lodge of ſeven Rooms, that he had ordered to be built for him in the confines of *Portugal*: He kept only twelve Servants to wait upon him, and reſerved for

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Charles the Fifth's Reſignation.

Book III for his Expence 100000. Crowns Penſion. In this retreat he lived two years: His
1555. firſt year was ſpent chiefly in Mechanical Inventions, in which he took great pleaſure: from that he turned to the cultivating his Garden, in which he uſed to work with thoſe hands, that now preferred the grafting and pruning Tools, to Scepters and Swords. But after that he addicted himſelf more to ſtudy and Devotion, and did often diſcipline himſelf with a Cord. It was alſo believed, that in many points he came to be of the Opinion of the Proteſtants, before he died. His Confeſſor was ſoon after his death burnt for Hereſie, and *Miranda* Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, that converſed much with him at this time, was clapt into Priſon on the ſame ſuſpicions. At the end of two years he died, having given a great Inſtance of a mind ſurfeited with the Glories of this World, that ſought for quiet in a private Cell, which it had long in vain ſearched after in Palaces and Camps.

1556. *Cranmer's* ſufferings. In *March* next Year came on *Cranmer's* Martyrdom. In *September* laſt, *Brooks*, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, came down with authority from Cardinal *Pool*, to judge him: with him two Delegates came to aſſiſt him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them, he payed the reſpect that was due to thoſe that ſat in the King and Queen's Name, 'but would ſhew none 'to *Brooks*, ſince he ſat there by an au-

'thority

'thority derived from the *Pope*, which he 'ſaid, he would never acknowledge. He 'could not ſerve two Maſters, and ſince 'he had ſworn Allegiance to the Crown, 'he could never ſubmit to the *Pope*'s au- 'thority: He alſo ſhewed that the *Pope*'s 'power had been as unjuſtly uſed, as it 'was ill grounded: that they had changed 'the Laws ſetled by Chriſt, which he in- 'ſtanced in denying the Chalice, in the 'Worſhip in an unknown Tongue, and in 'their pretences to a power to depoſe 'Princes: he remembred *Brooks*, that he 'had ſworn to maintain the King's Supre- 'macy, and when he ſtudied to caſt that 'back on him, as an invention of his, he 'told him that it was acknowledged in his 'Predeceſſor *Warham*'s time, and that *Brooks* 'had then ſet his hand to it. *Brooks*, and the two Delegates, *Martin* and *Scory*, objected many things to him, as that he had flattered King *Henry*, that ſo he might be preferred by him, and that he had condemned *Lambert* for denying the Preſence in the Sacrament, and had been afterwards guilty of the ſame Hereſie himſelf. But he vindicated himſelf from all aſpirings to the See of *Canterbury*, which appeared viſibly by the ſlowneſs of his motions, when he was called over out of *Germany*, to be advanced to it: for he was ſeven Weeks on his Journey. He confeſſed he had changed his Opinion in the matter of the Sacrament, and acknowledged that he had been twice married;

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which he thought was free to all Men, and was certainly much better than to defile other Men's Wives: After much 1556. discourse had past on both sides, *Brooks* required him to appear before the *Pope* within Eighty Days, and answer to the things that should be objected to him: he said, he would do it most willingly, but he could not possibly go, if he were still kept a Prisoner.

14 Febr. In *February* this Year, *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were sent to degrade him, for his Contumacy in not going to *Rome*; when he was all the while kept in Prison: He was clothed with all the Pontifical Robes made of Canvas, and then they were taken from him, according to the Ceremonies of degradation, in which *Bonner* carried himself with all the Insolence, that might have been expected from him: *Thirleby* was a good natured Man, and had been *Cranmer*'s particular friend, and performed his part in this Ceremony, with great expressions of sorrow, and shed many tears at it. In all this *Cranmer* seemed very little concerned; he said, it was gross Injustice to condemn him for not going to *Rome*, when he was shut up in Prison; but he was not sorry to be thus cut off, even with all this Pageantry, from any relation to that Church: he denied the *Pope* had any authority over him, so he appealed from his Sentence to a free General Council.

But

But now many Engines were set on work, to make him recant: both *English* and *Spanish* Divines had many Conferences with him, and great hopes were given him, not only of Life, but of Preferment, if he would do it: and these at last had a fatal effect upon him; for he signed a Recantation of all his former Opinions, and concluded it with a Protestation, that he had done it freely, only for the discharge of his Conscience. But the *Queen* was resolved to make him a Sacrifice to her resentments; she said, it was good for his own Soul that he repented, but since he had been the chief spreader of Heresie over the Nation, it was necessary to make him a publick Example: so the Writ was sent down to burn him, and after some stop had been made, in the Execution of it, now Orders came for doing it suddenly. This was kept from *Cranmer*'s knowledge, for they intended to carry him to the Stake, without giving him any notice, and so hoped to make him dye in despair: yet he suspecting somewhat, writ a long Paper, containing a Confession of his Faith, such as his Conscience, and not his fears had dictated.

Book III 1556. He Recants.

He was on the 21. of *March* carried to St. *Maries*, where Dr. *Cole* preached, and vindicated the Queen's Justice, in condemning *Cranmer*; but magnified his Conversion much, and ascribed it wholly to the workings of God's Spirit: he gave him great

He Repents, and is burnt.

great Hopes of Heaven, and promised him all the relief that Diriges and Masses could give him in another state. All this while *Cranmer* was observed to be in great Confusion, and Floods of Tears run from his Eyes; at last, when he was called on to speak, he began with a Prayer, in which he expressed much inward remorse and horrour: then after he had exhorted the People to good Life, Obedience and Charity, he in most pathetick expressions confessed his sin, that the hopes of Life had made him sign a Paper contrary to the Truth, and against his Conscience: and he had therefore resolved, that the hand that signed it, should be burnt first; he also declared, that he had the same belief concerning the Sacrament, which he had published in the Book he writ about it. Upon this there was a great Consternation on the whole Assembly, but they resolved to make an end of him suddenly, so without suffering him to go further, they hurried him away to the Stake: and gave him all the disturbance they could, by their reproaches and clamours: But he made them no answer, having now turned his thoughts wholly towards God. When the Fire was kindled, he held his right Hand towards the Flame, till it was consumed, and often said, *that unworthy hand*; he was soon after quite burnt, only his heart was found entire among the ashes: from which his Friends made this Inference, that though his Hand had erred, yet it appeared his Heart

Heart had continued true. They did not make a Miracle of it, though they said the Papists would have made a great matter of it, if such a thing had fallen out in any that had dyed for their Religion. Book III 1556.

Thus did *Thomas Cranmer* end his days, in the LXVII. Year of his Age: He was a Man of great Candor, and a firm Friend, which appeared signally in the misfortunes of *Anne Boleyn*, *Cromwell*, and the Duke of *Somerset*: He rather excelled in great Industry and good Judgment, than in a quickness of apprehension, or a closeness of stile. He employed his Revenues on pious and charitable uses; and in his Table he was truly hospitable, for he entertained great numbers of his poor Neighbours often at it. The Gentleness and Humility of his deportment were very singular: His last fall was the greatest blemish of his Life, yet that was expiated by a sincere repentance, and a patient Martyrdom: and those that compared Ancient and Modern times, did not stick to compare him, not only to the *Chrysostomes*, the *Ambroses*, and the *Austins*, that were the chief Glories of the Church, in the fourth and fifth Centuries, but to those of the first Ages, that immediately followed the Apostles, and came nearest to the Patterns, which they had left the World; to the *Ignatius's*, the *Policarps*, and the *Cyprians*. And it seemed necessary that the Reformation of the Church, being the restoring of the Primitive His Character.

Book III

1556. More burnings.

Primitive and Apostolical Doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a Man thus Eminent, for Primitive and Apostolical Vertues. In *January*, five Men, and two Women were burnt at one Stake in *Smithfield:* and one Man and four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. In *March*, two Women were burnt at *Ipswich*, and three Men at *Salisbury*. In *April*, six Men of *Essex* were burnt in *Smithfield:* a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Rochester*, and another at *Canterbury*: and six, who were sent from *Colchester*, were condemned by *Bonner*, without giving them longer time to consider whether they would recant, than till the Afternoon: for he was now so hardned in his Cruelty, that he grew weary of keeping his Prisoners some time, and of taking pains on them, to make them recant; he sent them back to *Colchester*, where they were burnt: He condemned also both a blind Man, and an aged Cripple, and they were both burnt in the same Fire at *Stratford*. In *May*, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*; the day after that, two were burnt at *Gloucester*, one of them being blind. Three were burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*; five were burnt at *Lewis*, and one at *Leicester*. But on the 27*th*. of *June*, *Bonner* gave the signallest Instance of his Cruelty, that *England* ever saw: for 11. Men, and two Women were burnt in the same Fire at *Stratford*. The horror of this Action it seems had some Operation on himself, for he burnt

burnt none till *April* next year. In *June* three were burnt at Saint *Edmondsbury*, and three were afterwards burnt at *Newbury*. This cruelty was not kept within *England*, but it extended as far as to the adjacent Islands. In *Guernsey*, a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the same stake; one of them was a married Woman, and big with Child: The violence of the Fire bursting her Belly, the Child that proved to be a Boy, fell out into the Flame: He was snatched out of it, by one that was more merciful than the rest: but the other barbarous Spectators, after a little Consultation, threw it back again into the Fire. This was Murder without question, for no Sentence against the Mother could excuse this Inhumane piece of Butchery, which was thought the more odious, because the Dean of *Guernsey* was a Complice in it: yet so merciful was the Government under Queen *Elizabeth*, that he, and Nine others, that were accused for it, had their Pardons. Two were after this, burnt at *Greenstead*, and a blind Woman at *Darby*; Four were burnt at *Bristoll*, and as many at *Mayfield* in *Sussex*, and one at *Nottingham*: so that in all LXXXV. were this Year burnt, without any regard had, either to Age, or Sex, to young or old, or the Lame and the Blind; which raised so extream an aversion in this Nation to that Religion, that it is no wonder if the apprehensions of being again brought under so Tyrannical a Yoke, break out into most Violent and Convulsive Symptoms.

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1556. The Reformed increase upon this.

By these means, the Reformation was so far from being extinguished, that it spread daily more and more, and the Zeal of those that professed it grew quicker. They had frequent Meetings, and several Teachers, that instructed them: and their Friends that went beyond Sea, and setled in *Strasburg*, *Frankfort*, *Embden*, and some other places in *Germany*, took care to send over many Books for their Instruction and Comfort.

The troubles at *Frankford*.

An unhappy difference was begun at *Frankford*, which has had since that time great and fatal Consequences; some of the *English* thought it was better to use a Liturgy, agreeing with the *Geneva* forms; whereas the rest thought, that since they were a part of the Church of *England*, that fled thither, they ought to adhere to the *English* Liturgy, and that the rather, since those who had compiled it, were now sealing it with their Blood. This raised much heat, but Doctor *Cox* that lived in *Strasburg*, being held in great esteem, went thither, and procured an Order from the Senate, that the *English* should continue to use the forms of their own Church: but the fire was not thereby quenched, for *Knox*, and some other hot spirits, began to make exceptions to some parts of the Liturgy; and got *Calvin* to declare on their side: upon which some of them retired to *Geneva*. Another contest arose concerning the censuring of Offenders, which some said belonged only to the Minister, and others

others thought that the Congregation ought to be admitted to a share in it. Great animosities were raised by these debates, which gave scandal to the strangers, among whom they lived, and made many reflect on the Schisms of the *Novatians* and *Donatists*, that rent the Churches of *Africk*; the one during the Persecutions, and the other immediately after they were over, Book III. 1556.

In *England*, *Pool* was Consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the day after *Cranmer* was burnt: which gave occasion to many to apply the words of *Elijah* to him, *Thou hast killed and taken possession*: A Week after that, he came into *London* in great state, and had the Pall put about him, by *Heath* in *Bow*-Church: and after that, he made a cold Sermon concerning the beginning, the Use and Vertues of the Pall: without either Learning or Eloquence: for it was observed, that he had so far changed his stile, which in his Youth was too luxuriant, that it was now become flat, and had neither Life nor Beauty in it. The Pall was a device of the Popes, in the 12*th*. Century, in which they began first to send those Cloaks to Archbishops, as a Badge of their being the Pope's *Legates born*. *Pool* made Archbish. of *Canterbury*.

The Queen had founded a House for the *Franciscans* of the *Observance* in *Greenwich* last Year: This year she founded Houses for the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* in *London*, as also a House for the *Carthusians* at *Sheen*, More Religious Houses.

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and a Nunnery at *Sion*: She also converted the Church of *Westminster*, into an *Abbey*. And that way might be made to the restoring Religious Orders, she took care to have all the Reports, Confessions, and other Records, that tended to the dishonour of their Houses, be rased: So that no Memory might remain of them to the next Age. For this end she gave a Commission to *Bonner*, and others, to search all Registers, and to take out of them every thing, that was either against the See of *Rome*, or the Religious Houses: and they executed this Commission so carefully, that the steps of it appear in the defectiveness of all the Records of that time: yet many things have escaped their diligence. This Expurgation of theirs was compared to the rage of the Heathens in the last Persecution, who destroyed all the Books and Registers, that they could find among the Christians. The *Monks* of *Glassenbury* were in hope to have got their House, that had been dedicated to the honour of *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, raised again: they desired only the House, and a little Land about it; which they resolved to Cultivate, and did not doubt but the People of the Countrey would contribute towards their subsistence: and it is probable that the like designs were set on foot for the other Houses: and it was not to be doubted, but that as soon as they had again infused in the Nation the belief of Purgatory, they would have perswaded those that held their Lands, especially if they could come near them, when they were dying,

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ing, to deliver themſelves from the ſin and puniſhments of Sacriledge; by making reſtitution. It is true, the Nobility and Gentry were much alarmed at theſe proceedings: and at the laſt Parliament, many in the Houſe of Commons laid their Hands on their Swords, and declared, that they would not part with their Eſtates, but would defend them. Yet all that intended to gain favour at *Court*, made their way to it, by founding Chantries for Maſſes, to be ſaid for them and their Anceſtors; and took out Licences from the *Queen*, for making thoſe Endowments.

The *Pope* ſets on a War between *France* and *Spain*.

A Truce was now concluded between *France* and *Spain* for five years: but the Violent *Pope* broke it. He was offended at the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and chiefly at *Ferdinand*'s aſſuming the Title of *Emperour*, without his conſent: he uſed to ſay, that all Kingdoms were ſubject to him: that he would ſuffer no Prince to be too familiar with him: and that he would ſet the World on fire, rather than be driven to do any thing below his Dignity. He pretended that he had reformed the abuſes of his own Court, and that he would in the next place reform all the abuſes that were in other Courts, of which he ordered a great Collection to be made: when he was preſt to call a Council, he ſaid, he needed none; for he himſelf was above all; and the World had already ſeen twice, to how little purpoſe it was to ſend about Sixty weak Biſhops, and Forty Divines,

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that were not the most learned, to *Trent*: he resolved it should never meet there any more; but he would call one to sit in the *Lateran*: he signified this to the Ambassadours of Princes, only in courtesie: for he would ask advice of none of them, but would be obeyed by them all: and if Princes would send none of their Prelates thither, he would hold a Council without them, and would let the World see what a *Pope*, that had courage, could do. This imperious humour of his, made him talk sometimes like a mad-man: He intended, as was believed, to raise his Nephew to be King of *Naples*, and in order to that, he sent one of his Nephews to *France*, to absolve the King from the Truce which he had sworn: and promised to create what Cardinals that King would nominate, if he would make War on *Spain*; though to the *Queen*'s Ambassadours, and all others at *Rome*, he gave it out, that he would mediate a Peace between the Crowns, for a Truce did not sufficiently secure the quiet of *Europe*. The *French* King was too easily perswaded by the Instigation of the *Pope*, and the House of *Guize*, to break his Faith, and begin the War. The *Pope* also began it in *Italy*, and put the Cardinals of the *Spanish* faction in Prison, and threatned to proceed to Censures against King *Philip*, for protecting the *Colonnesi*, who were his particular Enemies. He made some Levies among the *Grisons*, that were Hereticks; but said, he lookt on 'em as Angels of God, and was confident,

God

God would convert them. The Duke of *Alva* had that Reverence for the Papacy, that he took Arms againſt the *Pope* very unwillingly: He could have taken *Rome*, but would not: and for the places that he took, he declared he would deliver them up to the next *Pope*. It gave great ſcandal to the World, to ſee the *Pope* ſet on ſo perfidious a breach of Truce; and it was thought ſtrange, that in the ſame Year, a Great Prince in the 56. Year of his Age, ſhould retire to a Monaſtery; and that one bred a Monk, and 80. Years old, ſhould ſet *Europe* in a Flame.

1557. A Viſitation of the Univerſities.

The next Year *Pool* ſent *Ormaneto* with ſome *Engliſh* Divines, to viſit *Cambridge*. They put the Churches, in which the Bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius* lay, under an Interdict. They made a Viſitation of all the Colledges and Chappels, in which *Ormaneto* ſhewed great Integrity; and without reſpect of Perſons, he chid ſome Heads of Houſes, whom he found guilty of miſapplying the Revenues of their Houſes. The two dead Bodies were burnt with great ſolemnity: They were raiſed and cited to appear, and anſwer for the Hereſies they had taught, and if any would anſwer for them, they were required to come. The Dead ſaid nothing for themſelves; and the living were afraid to do it, for fear of being ſent after them: ſo Witneſſes were examined, and in concluſion they were condemned as obſtinate Hereticks, and the

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1557. dead Bodies, with many Heretical Books were all burnt in one Fire. *Peru* was Vice-Chancellour at this time, and happened to be in some Office four years after, when, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Order, publick honours were done to the Memory of these Learned Men, and he obeyed both these Orders with so much zeal, that it appeared how exactly he had learned the Lesson so much studied in that Age, of serving the time. After this there was a Visitation of all the Colledges in *Oxford*, and there it was intended to act such Pageantry on the body of *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, as had been done at *Cambridge*. But she that could speak no *English*, had not declared her Opinions so, that Witnesses could be found to convict her of Heresie: yet since it was notoriously known, that she had been a Nun, and had broken her Vow of Chastity, they raised her Body, and buried it in a Dunghill: but her Bones were afterwards mixed with Saint *Frideswide*'s, by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Order.

A severe Inquisition of *Heretick*s.

The Justices of Peace were now every where so slack in the Prosecution of Hereticks, that it seemed necessary to find out other Tools. So the Courts of Inquisition were thought on. These were set up first in *France* against the *Albigenses*, and afterwards in *Spain*, for discovering the *Moors*; and were now turned upon the Hereticks. Their power was uncontrolable, they seised on any they pleased, upon such Informations, or Presumptions, as lay before them.

They

They managed their Proceſſes in ſecret, and put their Priſoners to ſuch ſorts of Torture, as they thought fit for extorting Confeſſions or Diſcoveries from them. At this time both the *Pope* and King *Philip*, though they differed in other things, agreed in this, that they were the only ſure means for extirpating Hereſie. 'So as a ſtep to the ſetting 'them up, a Commiſſion was given to *Bonner* 'and twenty more, the greateſt part Lay-'men, to ſearch all over *England* for all ſuſpe-'cted of Hereſie, that did not hear Maſſe, 'go in Proceſſions, or did not take Holy 'bread, or Holy water: they were authori-'ſed, three being a *Quorum*, to proceed ei-'ther by Preſentments, or other Politick 'ways: they were to deliver all they diſco-'vered to their Ordinaries; and were to uſe 'all ſuch means as they could invent; which 'was left to their diſcretions and Conſcien-'ces, for executing their Commiſſion. Many other Commiſſions ſubalterne to theirs, were iſſued out for ſeveral Counties and Dioceſſes. This was looked on as ſuch an advance towards an Inquiſition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carried on vigorouſly in ſome places, and but coldly in moſt parts, for the diſlike of them grew to be almoſt Univerſal.

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In *January*, ſix were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*, and four in other parts of *Kent*: 22. were ſent out of *Colcheſter* to *Bonner*; but it ſeems *Pool* had chid him ſeverely for the Fire he had made of thirteen the laſt Year,

More burnings.

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1557. Year, so he writ to *Pool* for directions. The Cardinal imployed some to deal with the Prisoners, and they got them to sign a Paper in general words, acknowledging 'that Christ's Body was in the Sacrament, 'and declaring that they would be subject 'to the Church of Christ, and to their law-'ful Superiours. And upon this they were set at liberty; by which it appeared that *Pool* was willing to have accepted any thing, by which he might on the one hand preserve the Lives of those that were informed against, and yet not be exposed to the rage of the *Pope*, as a favourer of Hereticks. In *April*, three Men and one Woman were burnt in *Smithfield*: In *May*, three were burnt in *Southwark*, condemned by *White* the new Bishop of *Wincheſter*, and three at *Bristoll*. Five Men and nine Women were burnt in *Kent*, in *June*: and in the same Month, six Men and four Women were burnt at *Lewis*. In *July*, two were burnt at *Norwich*; and in *August*, ten were burnt in one day at *Colchester*. They were some of those 22. that were by *Pool*'s means discharged: but the Cruel Priests informed against them, and said, the favour shewed to them had so encouraged all others, that it was necessary to remove the scandal, which that mercy of the Cardinals gave, and to make Examples of some of them. In *August*, one was burnt at *Norwich*; two at *Rochester*, and one at *Litchfield*. One *Eagle*, that went much about from place to place, from which he was called *Trudge-over*, was condemned as a Traytor,

Traytor, for some words spoken against the Queen: But all this Cruelty did not satisfie the Clergy, they complained that the Magistrates were backward, and did their duty very negligently: upon which, severe Letters were written to several Towns, from the Council-board: and zealous Men were recommended to be chosen Mayors, in sundry Towns. In *September*, three Men and one Woman were burnt at *Islington*, and two at *Colchester*; one at *Northampton*, and one at *Laxefield*: a Woman was burnt at *Norwich*: a Priest with thirteen other Men and three Women, were burnt at *Chichester*. In *November*, three were burnt in *Smithfield*; *Rough* a Scotchman, that had a Benefice in K. *Edward*'s time, kept a private Meeting at *Islington*: but one of the Company being corrupted, discovered the rest, so they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion, and he, and a Woman were burnt in *December*: so 79. were burnt in all this year. Book III 1557.

This Year a horrid Murder of one *Argol*, and his Son was committed by the L. *Stourton*, and some of his Servants: who after they had butchered them in a most barbarous manner, buried them fifteen Foot deep in the ground. The Lord *Stourton* was a zealous Papist, and had protested against all the Acts that had past in King *Edward*'s time; yet the Queen not only would not pardon him, but would not so much as change the Infamous death of hanging, into a beheading: not because the Prerogative extends not so far, as some have without reason

The Lord *Stourton* hanged.

Book III 1557.

reason asserted: for both the Duke of *Somerset* condemned in the Reign of King *Edward*, and the Lord *Audley* condemned under King *Charles* the First, for Felony, were beheaded: but the Queen resolved in this case to shew no favour. All the distinction was, that the Lord *Stourton* was hanged in a silken Rope. This was much extolled as an Instance of the Queens Impartial Justice; and it was said, that since she left her Friends to the Law, her Enemies had no cause to complain, if it was executed on them.

The Queen joyns in the War against *France*.

The War breaking out between *Spain* and *France*, King *Philip* had a great mind to engage *England* in it. The Queen complained often of the kind reception that was given to the fugitives, that fled from *England* to *France*, and it was believed that the *French* secretly supplied and encouraged them to imbroil her affairs. One *Stafford* had this Year gathered many of them together, and landing in *Yorkshire*, he surprised the Castle of *Scarborough*, and published a Manifesto against the Queen, that by bringing in strangers to govern the Nation, she had forfeited her right to the Crown: but few came in to him; so he and his Complices were forced to render, and four of them were hanged. The *English* Ambassadour in *France*, Dr. *Wotton*, discovered that the Constable had a design to take *Calais*: for he sent his own Nephew, whom he had brought over, and instructed secretly, to him, he pretended he was sent from a great Party in that Town, who

who were resolved to deliver it up: at which the Constable seemed not a little glad, and entred into a long discourse with him of the Methods of taking it: yet all this made no great Impression on the Queen; All her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were against engaging; for they saw that would oblige them to slacken their severities at home: so the King found it necessary to come over himself, and perswade her to it. He prevailed with her: and after a denunciation of War, she sent over 80000. Men to his assistance, who joyned the *Spanish* Army consisting of 50000. that was set down before St. *Quintin*.

The Battel of S. *Quintin*.

The Constable of *France* came with a great force, to raise the Siege; but when the two Armies were in view of one another, the *French* by a mistake in the word of command, fell in disorder; upon which the *Spaniards* charged them with such success, that the whole Army was defeated: Many were killed on the place, and many were taken Prisoners, among whom was the Constable himself: and the *Spaniards* lost only fifty Men. Had *Philip* followed this blow, and marched straight to *Paris*, he had found all *France* in a great consternation, but he sat still before S. *Quintin*, which held out till the terror of this defeat was much over. The Constable lost his reputation in it, and all looked on it as a curse upon that King, for the breach of his Faith.

The

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1557. The Pope recalls *Pool*.

The *French* Troops were called out of *Italy*, upon which the *Pope* being now exposed to the *Spaniards*, fell in strange fits of rage; particularly he inveighed much against *Pool*, for suffering the Queen to joyn with the Enemies of the Apostolick See: and having made a General Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuntio's in the *Spanish* Dominions, he recalled *Pool*'s Legatine power among the rest: and neither the Intercessions of the Queen's Ambassadours, nor the other Cardinals could prevail with him to alter it: only as an extraordinary Grace, he consented not to intimate it to him. But after this he went further: He made Friar *Peyto* a Cardinal: he liked him for his railing against King *Henry* to his Face, and thought that since the Queen had made him her Confessor, he would be very acceptable to her. He recalled *Pool*'s powers, and required him to come to *Rome*, and answer to some Complaints made of him, for the favour he shewed to Hereticks: He also declared *Peyto* his Legate for *England*, and writ to the Queen to receive him: but the Queen ordered the Bulls and Briefs that were sent over, to be laid up without opening them, which had been the method formerly practised, when unacceptable Bulls were sent over: She sent word to *Peyto*, not to come into *England*, otherwise she would sue him, and all that owned him, in a *Præmunire*. He died soon after. Cardinal *Pool* laid aside the Ensigns of a Legate, and sent over *Ormaneto* with so submissive a Message,

Meſſage, that the *Pope* was much mollified by it, and a Treaty of Peace being ſet on foot, this ſtorm went over. The Duke of *Alva* marched near *Rome*, which was in no condition to reſiſt him: ſo the *Pope* in great fury called the Cardinals together, and told them, he was reſolved to ſuffer Martyrdom, without being daunted, which they who knew that he had drawn all this on himſelf, by his Ambition and Rage, could ſcarce hear without laughter. Yet the Duke of *Alva* was willing to treat. The haughty *Pope*, though he was forced to yield in the chief points, yet in the punctilio's of Ceremonies, he ſtood ſo high upon his honour, which he ſaid was Chriſt's honour, that he declared he would ſee the whole World ruined, rather than yield in a Title: In that the Duke of *Alva* was willing enough to comply with him, ſo he came to *Rome*, and in his Maſter's name, asked pardon for Invading the Patrimony of S. *Peter*; and the *Pope* gave him Abſolution, in as Inſolent a manner, as if he had been the Conqueror. The news of this Reconciliation were received in *England*, with all the publickeſt expreſſions of joy. In *Scotland*, the *Queen* Regent ſtudied to engage that Nation in the War: all that favoured the Reformation were for it; but the Clergy oppoſed it. The *Queen* thought to draw them into it, whether they would or not, and ſent in *D'oiſell* to beſiege a Caſtle in *England*. But the *Scotch* Lords complained much of that, and required him to give over his attempt, otherwiſe they would

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would declare him an Enemy to the Nation. So after some slight skirmishes on the Borders, the matter was put up on both sides.

1557. This made the *Queen* Regent write to *France*, pressing them to conclude the Marriage between the *Dolphin* and the Queen: upon which a Message was sent from that Court, desiring the *Scots* to send over Commissioners to treat about the Articles of the Marriage, and some of every State were dispatched for setling that matter. There was this Year great want of Money in the Exchequer of *England*; and the backwardness of the last Parliament made the Council unwilling to call a new one. It was tried what Sums could be raised by Loan, upon Privy Seals: but so little came in that way, that at last one was Summoned to meet in *January*, yet in the mean while advertisements were given them, of the ill condition, in which the Garrisons of *Calais*, and the neighbouring places were, and that the *French* had a design on them: but either they thought there was no danger during the Winter, or they wanted Money so much, that no care was taken to secure them.

Affairs in *Germany*.

In *Germany*, the Papists did this Year blow up the differences between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*, with so much Artifice, that a Conference, which was appointed for setling matters of Religion, was broken up, without any good effect: Only it discovered a common practice of the Popish party, in engaging those that divided from

from them, into heats and animosities one against another, by which their strength was not only much weakned, but their Zeal, instead of turning against the Common Enemy, turned upon one another. But yet the many Experiments that have been made of this, have not been able to infuse that moderation and prudence in many of the Reformed Churches, which might have been expected. In *France*, the numbers of the Reformed increased so much, that 200. assembled in St. *Germains*, one of the Suburbs of *Paris*, to receive the Communion. This was observed by the People of the Neighbourhood, and a Tumult was raised: the Men for most escaped, but 160. Women, and some few Men were taken: of these six Men and one Woman were burnt: and most horrid things were published of that Meeting; and among other Calumnies, it was said, they sacrificed and eat a Child. All these were confuted in an Apology, Printed for their Vindication: The *German* Princes, and the *Cantons* interposed so effectually, and their Alliance was then so necessary to the Crown of *France*, that a stop was put to further severities. The *Pope* complained much of that, and of some Edicts that the King had set out, annulling Marriages without consent of Parents, and requiring Churchmen to reside at their Benefices, as Invasions on the Spiritual Authority.

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1558. *Calais* and other places taken by the *French*.

The beginning of the next Year was famous by the loss of *Calais*. The Duke of *Guise* sat down before it, on the 1. of *January*. The Garrison consisted but of 500. Men, so that two Forts about it, of which the one commanded the Avenue to it by Land, and the other commanded the Harbour, were easily taken: for the Lord *Wentworth*, that was Governour, could not spare Men enough to defend them. The *French* drew the Water out of the Ditches, and made the Assault, and carried the Castle; which was thought Impregnable: After that the Town could do little, so it was surrendred, and the Governour with 50. Officers, were made Prisoners of War. Thus was this Important place, which the *English* had kept 210. Years, lost in a Week, and that in Winter. From this the Duke of *Guise* went to besiege *Guines*, which had a better Garrison of 1100. Men, but they were much disheartned by the loss of *Calais*; they retired into the Castle, and left the Town to the *French*; but yet they beat them once out of it. The *French*, after a long Battery, gave the Assault, and forced them to Capitulate: The Souldiers, as at *Calais*, had leave to go away, but the Officers were made Prisoners of War. The Garrison that was in *Hammes*, seeing themselves cut off from the Sea, and lost, abandoned the Place before the *French* summoned them. The loss of *Calais* raised great complaints against the Council, and they

to

to excuse themselves, cast the blame on the Lord *Wentworth*; and ordered a Citation to be made of him, when he was a Prisoner with the *French*: his Defence was not fit to be heard, otherwise it had been easie for the Council to have brought him over. He had not above the fourth part of that number, that was necessary to defend the place, and in time of War had no more, than were usually kept there in times of Peace; of this, both he, and Sir *Edward Grimston*, that was Controuler, gave full and timely advertisements, but had not those Supplies sent them that were necessary. They both came over in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and offered themselves to Trial, and were acquitted. *Grimston* was unwilling to pay the great Ransom that was set on him; so after two years Imprisonment, he made his escape out of the *Bastile*, & came to *England*, and lived till the 98. year of his Age. He was Great grand father to Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, the Author's Noble Patron and Benefactor. The *French* after this took *Sark*, a little Island in the Channel; but it was ingeniously retaken by a *Fleming*, who pretended that he desired to bury a Friend of his, that had died aboard his ship, in that Island: the *French* were very careful to search the Men that came ashore, that they should have no Arms about them; but did not think of looking into the Coffin, which was full of Arms, and when they thought the Seamen were burying their dead Friend, they armed themselves, and took all the

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French, that were in the Castle. The Ingeniousness, rather than the Importance of this, makes it worth the mentioning.

Great discontents in *England*.

The discontent that the loss of *Calais* gave to the *English*, was such, that the Queen could not hope ever to overcome it: and it sunk so deep in her mind, that it hastned her death not a little. Both sides took upon them to draw Arguments from this loss: The Reformers said, it was a Judgment on the Nation, for the contempt of the true Religion, and the Cruelties that had been of late practised: The Papists said, the Hereticks had found such shelter and connivence there, that no wonder the place was lost. *Philip* sent over, and offered his assistance to go, and retake the place, before the Fortifications should be repaired, if the *English* would send over a Force equal to such an undertaking: but they upon an Estimate made of the Expence, that this, and a War for the next Year would put them to, found it would rise to 520000 *l.* Sterling: and as the Treasure was exhausted, and could not furnish such a Sum, so they had no reason to expect such liberal Supplies from the People. The Bishops were afraid lest the continuance of the War should make it necessary to proceed more gently against Hereticks, and thought it better to sit down with the loss of *Calais*, than hazard that: they seemed confident that within a Year, they should be able to clear the Kingdom of Heresie: and therefore moved that preparations might

might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

1558. The Parliament meets.

The Parliament assembled; for which the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of St. *John* of *Jerusalem* had their Writs, and sat in it. The Lords desired a Conference with the Commons, concerning the safety of the Nation, and upon that a Subsidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth were given by the Laity, and the Clergy gave eight shillings in the Pound, to be payed in four Years. The Abbot of *Westminster* moved, that the Priviledges of Sanctuary might be again restored to his House; but that was laid aside. The procurers of wilful Murder were denied the benefit of the Clergy: but great opposition was made to it in the House of Lords. A Bill was brought in, confirming the Letters Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houses, but one *Coxley* opposed this; and insinuated, that perhaps the Queen intended to dispose of the Crown, in prejudice of the right Heir: at which the House expressed so great a dislike, as shewed, they would not have it so much, as imagined, that Lady *Elizabeth* could be excluded. He had a publick reprimend given him for insinuating a thing so much to the Queen's dishonour.

The carriage and usage of Lady *Elizabeth* all this Reign.

A Proposition of Marriage, was at this time privately made by the King of *Sweden*, to Lady *Elizabeth*; but she rejected it, because it was not sent to her by the Queen:

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though the Messenger declared that his Master, as he was a Gentleman, began at her, and as he was a King, he had ordered him to 1558. propose it next to the Queen. But she assured him, that if the Queen would leave her to her self, she would not change her state of life. When the Queen knew of this, she approved much of her Sister's answer, and sent one to her to try her mind in it; for now the Proposition was made to her: but she expressed her dislike of a married state so firmly, that this motion fell to the ground. It seems her aversion was very great, otherwise the condition she was then in, was neither so easie, nor so secure, but that she had reason to desire to be out of her Keeper's hands; and to apprehend that her danger encreased, as the Queen's health was impaired: for many of the Bishops were offering Cruel counsels against Her. She had been first sent for upon the breaking out of *Wiat*'s Conspiracy: and though she lay then sick in Bed, she was forc'd to come to *Court*: There she was at first confined to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carried to the *Tower*, and led into it by the *Traytor*'s Gate, and was strictly guarded: Her Servants were put from her, and none had access to her, but those that were Spies upon her: nor was she suffered to walk on the Leads, or have the ordinary comforts of Air. Some were put to the Rack to draw Confessions from them, but none accused her, except *Wiat*, and he retracted what he had said in hopes of a Pardon,

when

when he was upon the *Scaffold*. When it appeared that nothing could be made out againſt her, ſhe was ſent down to *Woodſtock*; and was kept under ſtrict Guards, and very roughly uſed by Sir *Henry Benefield*. But King *Philip* ſo far mollified the Queen towards her, that he prevailed with her to bring her to *Court*; and to admit her to her Preſence. *Gardiner*, and many others dealt much with her, to confeſs her offences, and ask the Queen's pardon: but ſhe always ſtood upon her Innocence, and ſaid ſhe had never offended her, not ſo much as in her thoughts. When ſhe was brought to the Queen, ſhe renewed the ſame proteſtations to her, and begged that ſhe would entertain a good opinion of her. The Queen, though ſhe preſſed her much to acknowledg ſome faultineſs, yet ſeemed to be ſatisfied with what ſhe ſaid; and parted with her in good terms: of which King *Philip* had ſome apprehenſions, for he had conveyed himſelf ſecretly into a corner of the Room, that he might prevent a further breach, in caſe the Queen ſhould fall into heats with her. After this her Guards were diſcharged, and ſhe ſeemed to be at liberty: but ſhe had ſo many Spies about her, that to avoid all ſuſpicion, ſhe medled in no ſort of buſineſs; but gave her ſelf wholly to ſtudy: Thus was ſhe Imployed for five years, during which time, ſhe was under continual apprehenſions of Death, which was perhaps a neceſſary preparation for that long courſe of Proſperity and Glory, with which ſhe was afterwards bleſt.

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1558. More burnings.

During the sitting of Parliaments, the Bishops did always intermit their Cruelties, but as soon as they were over, they returned to them. *Cuthbert Simpson*, one in Deacons Orders, had been taken at the Meeting in *Islington*, and was rackt with extream severity, to make him confess all the Friends they had in *London*: but nothing was drawn from him; so in *March*, he and two others were burnt in *Smithfield*. In *April* one was burnt at *Hereford*; and in *May*, three were burnt at *Colchester*: Several Books were Printed beyond Sea, and secretly conveyed into *England*: upon which a Proclamation of a very strange nature was set out; 'That if any 'received any of these Books, and did not 'presently burn them, without either read-'ing them, or shewing them to any Person, 'they were to be Executed immediately by 'Martial Law. Seven were burnt in *Smithfield* in the end of *May*; and another Proclamation was at that time made in the Queens name, against all that should speak to them, or pray for them: but no Authority could restrain those prayers, which devout minds offered up secretly to God. Six were burnt at *Brainford*, in *July*: a Minister was burnt at *Norwich*, in that Month: In *August*, a Gentleman was burnt near *Winchester*: At St. *Edmondsbury*, four were burnt in *August*, and three more in *November*: at the same time, a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Ipswich*: a Woman was also burnt at *Exeter*; and on the 10th. of *November*, three Men and two Women were burnt at *Canterbury*; in all XXXIX.

this

this Year. All that were burnt during this Reign, as far as I could gather the number, were 284. though *Grindall*, that lived in that time, writes, that in two Years 800. were burnt: many more were imprisoned, 60. died in Prison; others, after much cruel usage, *Bonner* himself often disciplining them with Whips and Tortures, were prevailed on to abjure; but carried in their minds a deep aversion to that Cruelty which had tempted them to such Apostasie. At first pardons were offered at the Stake, to tempt the Martyrs to the last moment of their life; but afterwards the *Priests* Cruelty, as it continued to the last Week of the Queens life, so it encreased to that degree, that *Bembridge*, who was burnt near *Winchester*, in *August*, crying out, when he felt the Violence of the fire, that he recanted; the Sheriff made his People put out the Fire, and hoped, that since the Clergy pretended, that they desired the Conversion, and not the destruction of the Hereticks, this act of Mercy would not displease them: but the Council writ to him, ordering him to go on and execute the Sentence, and to take care that he should dye a good Catholick; for it was said, if he recanted sincerely, he was fit to dye; and if he did it not sincerely, he was not fit to live: and when this was done, the Sheriff was put in the *Fleet* for his Presumption.

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This Year the Lord *Clinton* was sent with a Fleet of 120. Ships, and 7000. Land-men in it, against *France*, he made but one descent,

Ill success, & strange accidents.

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1558. cent, and lost 600. Men in it; so after an inglorious and expenceful Voyage, he returned back. The *English* had lost their Hearts, and began to think that Heaven was against them: Extraordinary accidents encreased those Apprehensions: Thunder broke violently in *Nottingham*; the *Trent* swell'd excessively, and did much mischief. Hail-stones of a huge bigness fell in some places. Intermitting Fevers were so Universal and Contagious, that they raged like a Plague, so that in many Places there were not People enough to reap the Harvest: all which tended to encrease the aversion to the Government, and that disposed the Queen to hearken to overtures of Peace. This was projected between the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who were the chief Favourites to the two Kings, and were both much set on extirpating Heresie, which could not be done, during the continuance of the War; the Cardinal of *Lorrain* was more earnest in it, because the Constable, who was the Head of the Faction, against the House of *Guise*, was suspected to favour it, and his three Nephews, the *Coligny*'s, were known to encline to it: The King of *France* had also lost another Battel, this Year, at *Gravelin*, which made him desire a Peace: for he thought the driving the *English* out of *France*, did compensate both that, and his loss at St. *Quintin*: So both those Princes reckoned they had such advantages, that they might make Peace with honour: and they being thus disposed to it,

it, a Treaty was opened at *Cambray*. *Philip*, in his own disposition, was much inclined to extirpate Heresie, and the Brothers of *Guise* possessed the King of *France* with the same Maximes: which seemed more necessary, because Heresie had then spread so much in that Court, that both the King and Queen of *Navarre* declared themselves for the Reformation: and great numbers in the Publick Walks about *Paris*, used to assemble at Nights, and sing *David*'s Psalms in Verse. The King of *Navarre* was the first Prince of the Blood, and so was in great consideration for his rank, but was a weak Man: His Queen was the wonder of her Age, both for great Parts, Eminent Vertues, and a most Extraordinary sense of Religion. There was an Edict set out, forbiding this Psalmody, but the dignity of these crowned Heads, and the Numbers of those that were engaged in it, made it seem not advisable to punish any for it, at least, till a general Peace had been first made.

In *April* was the *Dauphin* married to the Queen of *Scotland*, which was honoured by an Epithalamium, writ by *Buchanan*, reckoned to be one of the rarest Pieces of *Latine* Poetry. The Deputies sent from *Scotland*, were desired to offer the *Dauphin* the Crown of *Scotland*, in the Right of his Wife: But they said, that exceeded the bounds of their Commission, so they only promised to represent

The *Dauphin* and Queen of *Scotland* married.

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sent the matter to the States of *Scotland*: but could not conceal the averſion they had to it. Soon after Four of the Seven, that were ſent over, died, and the Fifth eſcaped narrowly. It was generally ſuſpected, that they were poiſoned: when the reſt returned to *Scotland*, an Aſſembly of the States was called, in which it was agreed to allow the *Dauphin* the Title of King, but with this Proviſo, that he ſhould have no power over them, and that it was only a bare Title, which they offered him. This was appointed to be carried to him, by the Earl of *Argile*, and the *Prior* of St. *Andrews*, who had been the chief Sticklers for the *French* Intereſt, in hopes of the Queen Regents Protection, againſt the rage of the Biſhops, in matters of Religion.

A Parliament in *England*.

In *England*, a Parliament was called, the 5*th*, of *November*: the Queen being ill, ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and laid before him the ill condition of the Nation; and the neceſſity of putting it in a poſture of defence: But the Commons were ſo ill ſatisfied with the Conduct of affairs, that they could come to no reſolution; ſo on the 14*th*. of that Month, twelve of the chief Lords of both Eſtates, came down to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired them to grant a Subſidy to defend the Nation, both againſt the *French* and *Scots*: but the Commons came to no concluſion, till the Queen's death,

death, on the 17*th.* put an end to the Parliament.

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Her falſe Conception, and the Melancholy that followed it, which received a ſurcharge from the loſs of *Calais*, brought her into an ill habit of body, and that turned to a Dropſie, which put an end to her unhappy Reign, in the forty-third year of her Age, after ſhe had reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. Sixteen hours after, her Cardinal *Pool* died, in the fifty ninth year of his Age. He left *Priuli* a Noble *Venetian*, that had lived twenty ſix years in an entire friendſhip with him, his Executor: but as *Pool* had not ſtudied to heap up much Wealth, ſo *Priuli*, who had refuſed a Cardinal's Hat, rather than be obliged thereby to loſe his Company, gave it all away, and reſerved nothing to himſelf, but his Breviary and Diary.

1558. The Queens Death.

Pool was a learned, humble, prudent and moderate Man: and had certainly the beſt notions of any of his Party, then in *England*: but he was almoſt alone in them; ſo that the Queen, whoſe temper and principles were fierce and ſevere, preferred the bloody Counſels of *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, to the wiſer and better methods which he propoſed. And though his ſuperſtition for the See of *Rome*, continued ſtill with him, yet his Eyes were opened in many things: his being Legate at *Trent*, and his retirement at *Viterbo*, had both enlightned and compoſed his mind; and that joyned to the

Pool's Death and Character.

Book III 1558. the Probity and sweetness of his Temper, produced great effects in him: his Character deserves the more to be enlarged on, because there were no others of the Clergy, at that time, concerning whom even a partial Historian can find much good to relate; for their temporising and dissimulation, in the changes that were made, and their Cruelty, when power was put in their hands, were so scandalous, that it is scarce possible to write of them, with that softness of stile, that becomes an Historian.

The Queens Character. The Queen had been bred to some more than ordinary knowledge: A froward sort of Vertue, and a Melancholy Piety, are the best things that can be said of her: she left the Conduct of Affairs wholly in the hands of her Council, and gave her self up to follow all the dictates and humours of the Clergy: and though she esteemed *Pool* beyond them all, yet she imputed the moderateness of his Counsels, rather to his Temper, than to his Judgment: and perhaps thought that the *Pope*, who pressed all Princes to set up Courts of Inquisition, for extirpating of Heresie, was more likely to be Infallible than the Cardinal: and as Princes were required by the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, to extirpate Hereticks, under the pain of forfeiting their Dominions; so the *Pope* had set out a Decree this Year, by the advice of all his Cardinals, confirming all Canons

Canons againſt Hereticks, declaring that ſuch Princes, as fell into Hereſie, did thereby forfeit all their Rights, without any ſpecial ſentence, and that any that could, might ſeize on their Dominions. The Biſhops had alſo this to ſay for their Severities, that by the Oath which they took at their Conſecrations, they were bound to *perſecute Hereticks with all their might*: ſo that the Principles of that Religion, working on ſowre and revengeful tempers, it was no wonder that Cruel Councils were more acceptable than moderate ones.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE *REFORMATION*

In the beginning of

Qu. ELIZABETH's Reign.

THE Morning after Queen *Mary* died, the Lord Chancellor went to the House of Lords, and communicated to them the News of Her death, and then sent for the Commons, and declared it to them: and added, that the Crown was now devolved on their present Queen *Elizabeth*, whose

Qu. *Elizabeth* Proclaimed.

Book IV 1558. whose Title they were resolved to proclaim: This was Echoed with repeated Acclamations, which were so full of Joy, that it appeared how weary the Nation was of the Cruel and weak administration of affairs, under the former Reign, and that they hoped for better times under the next. And indeed the Proclaiming the new Queen, both at *Westminster*, and in the City of *London*, was received with such unusual transports of Joy, as gave the Melancholy Priests, just cause to fear a new Revolution in matters of Religion; and though the Queen's Death affected them with a very sensible sorrow, yet the Joy in this change was so great, and so Universal, that a sad look was thought Criminal, and the Priests were glad to vent their griefs at their forsaken Altars, which were now like to be converted again to Communion Tables.

The *Queen* came to *London*. The Queen came from *Hatfield*, where she had lived private, to *London*. The Bishops met Her at *Highgate*, she received them all kindly, only she lookt on *Bonner* as defiled with so much blood, that it seemed indecent to treat him with the sweetness, that always attends the beginnings of Reigns: for common Civility to a Person so polluted, might seem some countenance to his Crimes. She past through *London*, in the midst of all the Joys, that People, delivered from the Terror of Fires and Slavery, could express: She quickly shewed, that she was resolved to retain no Impressions

sions of the hardships she had met with in her Sister's time, and treated those that had used her worst, with great gentleness, *Beaunefield* himself not excepted; only with a sharpness of raillery, she used to call him her *Taylor*. She gave notice of her coming to the Crown to all foreign Princes, and writ particular acknowledgments to King *Philip*, for the good offices he had done her. Among the rest, she writ to Sir *Edward Karn*, that was her Sisters Ambassadour at *Rome*. But the *Pope* in his usual stile told him, that *England* was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Presumption in her, to take the Crown without his consent, especially she being illegitimate: but he said, if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, she might expect from him all the favour, that could consist with the dignity of the Apostolick See. The Queen hearing this, recalled *Karn*'s power; but he being a zealous Papist, continued still at *Rome*.

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Philip proposes marriage to the *Queen*, but in vain.

Philip proposed Marriage to the Queen, and undertook to procure a Dispensation for it, from *Rome*: But the Queen, as she continued all her life averse to that state of life, so she knew how unacceptable a stranger, and particularly a *Spaniard*, would be to her People: She did not much value the *Pope*'s Dispensation, and if two Sisters might marry the same Person, then two Brothers might likewise marry the same Woman: which would have overthrown

Book IV 1558. all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen *Catherine*, upon which the Validity of her Mothers Marriage, and her legitimation did depend. Yet though she firmly resolved not to marry King *Philip*, she thought, that during the Treaty at *Cambray*, it was not fit to put him quite out of hopes: so he sent to *Rome* for a Dispensation, but the *French* sent to oppose it, and set up a Pretension for the young Queen of *Scotland*, as the righteous Heir to the Crown of *England*.

The Counsels about changing Religion. The Queen continued to imploy most of her Sisters Privy-Councellours, and they had turned so often before, in matters of Religion, that it was not likely they would be Intractable in that point: but to these she added divers others; the most Eminent of whom, were Sir *Will. Cecyl*, and Sir *Nicolas Bacon*. She ordered all, that were Imprisoned on the account of Religion, to be set at liberty: upon which one, that used to talk pleasantly, told her, the four Evangelists continued still Prisoners, and that the People longed much to see them at liberty: She answered, she would talk with themselves, and know their own mind. Some proposed the annulling all Queen *Mary*'s Parliaments, because force was used in the first, and the Writs for another were not lawful, since the Title of *Supream Head* was left out in the Summons, before it was taken away by Law: but it was thought a Precedent of dangerous Consequence, to annul

nul Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular disorders. The Queen desired, that all the changes that should be made, might be so managed, as to breed as little division among her People, as was possible: She did not like the Title of *Supream Head*, as importing too great an Authority. She loved Magnificence in Religion, as she affected it in all other things; this made her incline to keep Images still in Churches: and that the Popish party might be offended as little as was possible, she intended to have the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament defined in general terms, that might comprehend all sides. A Scheme was formed of the Method, in which it was most advisable for the Queen to proceed, and put in *Cecyl*'s hands.

A Scheme proposed.

'It was thought necessary to do nothing 'till a Parliament were called: The Queen 'had reason to look for all the mischief that 'the *Pope* could do her, who would set on 'the *French*, and by their means, the *Scots*, 'and perhaps the *Irish*, against her. The 'Clergy, and those that were imployed in 'Queen *Mary*'s time, would oppose it; and 'do what they could to inflame the Nation: 'and the greater part of the People loved 'the Pomp of the old Ceremonies. It was 'therefore proposed, that the Queen should 'on any terms make Peace with *France*; 'and encourage the Party in *Scotland*, that 'desired a Reformation. The Clergy were 'generally hated for their Cruelty, and it

Book IV 1558. 'would be easie to bring them within the 'Statute of *Præmunire*: Care was also to be 'taken to expose the former Councellours, 'for the ill conduct of affairs in Q. *Mary*'s 'time, and so to lessen their credit. It was 'also proposed to look well to the Com- 'missions, both for the Peace and the Militia, 'and to the Universities. Some Learned 'Men were to be ordered, to consider what 'alterations were fit to be made, and by 'what steps they should proceed. It was thought fit to begin with the Communion in both kinds.

The Impatience of some. Now did the Exiles, that had fled beyond Sea, return again; and some zealous People began, in many places, to break Images, and set up King *Edward*'s Service again. Upon this the Queen ordered, that the Litany, and other parts of the Service should be said in *English*, and that no Elevation should be used in the Mass: but required 27 *Decemb.* her Subjects by Proclamation, to avoid all Innovations, and use no other forms, but those that she kept up in her Chappel, till it should be otherwise appointed in Parliament. She ordered her Sister's Funeral to be performed with the ordinary Magnificence: *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, that Preached the Sermon, not only extolled her Government much, but made severe Reflections on the present state of affairs; for which he was confined to his House for some time.

Many Sees were now vacant: So one of the first things that came under Consultation,

sultation, was the finding out fit Men for them. Dr. *Parker* was pitched on, as the fittest for the See of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to *Anne Boleyn*, and had been imployed in instructing the Queen, in the Points of Religion, when she was young: He was well known to Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, and both he and *Cecyl* gave so high a Character of him, that it meeting with the *Queen*'s particular esteem, made them resolve on advancing him: but as soon as he knew it, he used all the Arguments he possibly could against it, both from the weakness of his Body, and his unfitness for so great a charge. He desired that he might be put in some small Benefice of 20 Nobles a Year; So far was he from aspirings to great Wealth, or high Dignities: and as *Cranmer* had done before him, he continued for many Months so averse to it, that it was very hard to overcome him. Such Promotions are generally, if not greedily sought after, yet at least willingly enough undertaken: but this looked liker the practises in Ancient than Modern times. In the best Ages of the Church, instead of that Ambitus, which has given such scandal to the World in later times, it was ordinary for Men to flye from the offer of great Preferments, and to retire to a Wilderness, or a Monastery, rather than undertake a charge, which they thought above their Merit or Capacity to discharge. And this will still shew it self in all such as have a just sense of the Pastoral care, and consider the discharging that, more than the raising

1558. *Parker* refuses the See of *Canterbury* long.

Book IV

or enriching themſelves or their Families. And it was thought no ſmall honour to the Reformation, that the two chief Inſtruments that promoted it, *Cranmer* and *Parker*, gave ſuch evidences of a Primitive Spirit, in being ſo unwillingly advanced.

1558.

1559. *Bacon* made Lord *Keeper.*

The Seals were taken from *Heath*, and put in *Bacon*'s hands, who was declared *Lord Keeper*, and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellors Office without the Title, which was perhaps an effect of his great Modeſty, that adorned his other great qualities. As he was Eminent in himſelf, ſo he was happy in being Father to the Great Sir *Francis Bacon*, one of the chief Glories of the *Engliſh* Nation.

The *Queen* is Crowned.

On the 13*th.* of *January*, the Queen was Crowned: When ſhe entred into her Chariot at the *Tower*, ſhe offered up an humble acknowledgment to God, for delivering her out of that Lions Den, and preſerving her to that Joyful Day. She paſſed through *London* in great Triumph, and received all the expreſſions of Joy from her People, with ſo much ſweetneſs, as gained as much on their Hearts, as her Siſters ſowrneſs had alienated them from her. Under one of the Triumphal Arches, a Child came down, as from Heaven, repreſenting *Truth* with a *Bible* in his hand, which ſhe received on her Knees, and kiſſed it, and ſaid, ſhe preferred that above all the other Preſents that were that Day made her: She was Crown-

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ed by *Oglethorp*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, for all the other Bishops refused to assist at it; and he only could be prevailed on to do it. They perceived that she intended to make changes in Religion, and though many of them had changed often before, yet they resolved now to stick firmer to that which they had so lately professed, and for which they had shed so much Blood. Book IV 1559.

The Parliament was opened on the 25*th.* of *January*; *Bacon* made a long Speech, both concerning matters of Religion, and the State of the Nation. He desired they would examine the former Religion, without heat or partial affection; and that all reproaches might be forborn, and extreams avoided: and that things might be so setled, that all might agree in an Uniformity in Divine Worship. He laid open the errours of the former Reign, and aggravated the loss of *Calais*: but shewed, that it could not be easily recovered. He made a high Panegyrick of the Queen, but when he shewed the necessities she was in, he said, she would desire no supply, but what they should freely and chearfully offer. The House of Commons began at a Debate, Whether the want of the Title of *Supream Head* in the enumeration of the Queen's Titles, made a Nullity in the Writs, by which this and some former Parliaments had been summoned: but they concluded in the Negative. A Parliament is called.

The

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1559. The Peace at *Cambray*.

The Treaty at *Cambray* ſtuck chiefly at the reſtitution of *Calais*: and King *Philip* for a great while inſiſted ſo poſitively on it, that he refuſed to make Peace on other terms. *England* had loſt it by a War, in which they engaged on his account; ſo in honour he was bound to ſee to it. But when the hopes of his marrying the Queen vaniſhed, and when he ſaw ſhe was going to make changes in Religion, he grew more careleſs of her Intereſts, and told the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours, that unleſs they would enter into a League for keeping up the War ſix Years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the neceſſity of his affairs, and make Peace. So the Queen liſtned to Propoſitions ſent her from *France*. She complained of the *Queen* of *Scotland*'s aſſuming the Title and Arms of *England*: It was anſwered, that ſince ſhe carried the Title and Arms of *France*, ſhe had no reaſon to quarrel much on that account. She ſaw ſhe could not make War with *France* alone, and knew that *Philip* had made a ſeparated Peace. She had no mind to begin her Reign with a War, that would probably be unſucceſsful, or demand Subſidies that would be ſo grievous, as that thereby ſhe might loſe the affections of her People. The loſs of *Calais* was no reproach on her, but fell wholly on her Siſter's Memory: and ſince ſhe intended to make ſome changes in matters of Religion, it was neceſſary to be at quiet with her Neighbours: Upon this, ſhe reſolved to make Peace with *France*, on the beſt terms that could be obtained.

tained. It was agreed, that at the end of eight Years, *Calais* ſhould either be reſtored, or 500000. Crowns ſhould be payed the Queen: yet if, during that time, ſhe made War, either on *France*, or *Scotland*, ſhe was to forfeit her right to *Calais*. *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was to be raſed, and all differences on the Borders there, were to be determined, by ſome deputed on both ſides; this being adjuſted, a General Peace between the Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Spain* was concluded: and thus the Queen being freed from the dangerous conſultations, that the continuance of a War might have involved her in, was the more at liberty to ſettle matters at home.

Acts paſt in Parliament.

The firſt Bill, that was brought to try the Temper of the Parliament, was for the Reſtitution of the Tenths and Firſt-fruits to the Crown; againſt this, all the Biſhops proteſted, but that was all the oppoſition made to it. By it, not only that Tax was of new laid on the Clergy, but all the Impropriated Benefices, which Queen *Mary* had ſurrendred, were reſtored to the Crown.

The Commons pray the Queen to marry.

After this, the Commons made an Addreſs to the Queen, deſiring her to chooſe ſuch a Husband, as might make both her ſelf, and the Nation happy. She received this very kindly, ſince they had neither limited her to time, nor Nation: but declared, that as hitherto ſhe had lived with great ſatisfaction in a ſingle ſtate, and had refuſed

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1559. refuſed the Propoſitions that had been made her, both in her Brothers and Siſters reign, ſo ſhe had no Inclination to change her courſe of life. If ever ſhe did it, ſhe would take care, that it ſhould be for the good, and to the ſatisfaction of her People. She thought ſhe was married to the Nation at her Coronation, and looked on her People, as her Children; and ſhe would be well contented, if her Tombſtone might tell Poſterity, *Here lies a Queen that reigned ſo long, and lived and dyed a Virgin.* There was little more progreſs made in this matter, ſave, that a Committee was appointed by both Houſes, to conſider what ſhould be the Authority of the Perſon, whom the Queen might happen to marry; but ſhe ſent them a Meſſage, to proceed to other affairs, and let that alone.

Her Title to the Crown acknowledged.

A Bill for the Recognition of her Title to the Crown was put in: It was not thought neceſſary to Repeal the Sentence of her Mothers Divorce, for the Crown purged all defects: and it was thought needleſs to look back unto a thing, which could not be done, without at leaſt caſting ſome reproach on her Father; ſo it was in general words Enacted, 'That they did aſſuredly 'believe and declare, that by the Laws of 'God, and the Realm, ſhe was their lawful 'Queen, and was rightly and lineally de-'ſcended. This was thought a much wiſer way, than if they examined the Sentence of Divorce, that paſt, upon the Confeſſion of

of a Precontract, which must have revived the remembrance of things that were better left in silence.

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Bills were put in for the *English* Service, for reviving King *Edward*'s Laws, and for annexing the Supremacy again to the Crown. To that, concerning the Supremacy, two Temporal Lords, and nine Bishops, with the Abbot of *Westminster* dissented. It was proposed to revive the Law, for making the Bishops by Letters-Patents, as was in King *Edward*'s time, but they choosed rather to revive the Act for Electing them, made in the 25. *Hen.* 8. They revived all Acts made against the *Pope*'s power, in King *Henry*'s time, and repealed those, made by Queen *Mary*. They enacted an Oath, for acknowledging the Queen *Supream Governour in all causes, and over all Persons*: Those that refused it, were to forfeit all Offices that they held, either in Church or State, and to be under a disability, during life. If any should advance the authority of a Foreign Power; for the first offence, they were to be fined, or imprisoned; for the second, to be in a *Præmunire*; and the third was made *Treason*: The Queen was also impowered to give Commissions, for Judging and Reforming Ecclesiastical matters; who were limited to judge nothing to be Heresie, but what had been already so judged by the authority of the Scriptures, or the first four General Councils. All Points that were not decided,

Acts concerning Religion.

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1559. ded, either by expreſs words of Scripture, or by thoſe Councils, were to be referred to the Parliament and Convocation. The Title of *Supream Head* was changed, partly, becauſe the *Queen* had ſome ſcruples about it, and partly to moderate the oppoſition, which the Popiſh party might otherwiſe make to it: and the refuſing the Oath was made no other way Penal, but that all Offices or Benefices were forfeited upon it, which was a great mitigation of the ſeverity in King *Henry*'s time. The Biſhops are ſaid to have made ſeveral Speeches againſt this, in the Houſe of Lords: but that which goes under the name of *Heath*'s Speech muſt be a forgery; for in it the Supremacy is called a new and unheard of thing, which could not have flowed from one that had ſworn it ſo often, both under King *Henry*, and King *Edward*. *Tonſtall* came not to this Parliament, and he was ſo offended with the Cruelties of the laſt Reign, that he had withdrawn himſelf into his Dioceſs: where he burnt none himſelf, upon that it was now thought, that he was ſo much alienated from thoſe Methods, that ſome had great hopes of his declaring for the Reformation. *Heath* had been likewiſe very moderate, nor were any burnt under him. Upon the power given the *Queen*, to appoint ſome to Reform and direct all Eccleſiaſtical matters, was the Court, called the *High Commiſſion Court*, founded: which indeed was nothing, but the ſharing that authority, which was in one Perſon in King *Henry*'s time, into many

many hands: for that Court had no other authority, but that which was lodged formerly in *Cromwell*, as the King's Vicegerent, and was now thought too great to be trusted to one Man.

Preaching without Licence forbidden.

Great complaints were made of seditious Sermons, preached by the Popish Clergy: upon which, the *Queen* followed the Precedent that her Sister had made, and forbid all Preaching, excepting only by such, as obtained a Licence under the Great Seal for it: She likewise sent an Order to the Convocation, requiring them, under the pains of a *Præmunire*, to make no Canons. Yet the lower House, in an Address to the upper House, declared for the Corporal Presence, and that the Mass was a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and for the Supremacy, and that matters of Religion fell only under the Cognisance of the Pastors of the Church. The greatest part of both Universities had also set their hands to all these Points, except the last.

A publick Conference about Religion.

This, it seems, was the rather added by the Clerks of Convocation, to hinder a publick Conference, which the *Queen* had appointed, between the Bishops and the Reformed Divines. It was first proposed to *Heath*, who was still a Privy Councellour, and he, after some Conference about it, with his Brethren, accepted of it. Nine of a side were to dispute about three Points: Worship in an Unknown Tongue, the power that every particular Church had to alter Rites and Cere-

Book IV 1559. Ceremonies, and the Masse's being a Propitiatory Sacrifice, for the Dead and the Living: All was to be given in in Writing: The Bishops were to begin in every Point, and they were to interchange their Papers, and answer them. The last of *March* was the first day of Conference, which held in *Westminster* Abby, in the presence of the Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament. The Bishop of *Winchester* pretended, there had been some mistake in the Order, and that their Paper was not quite finished: but that Dr. *Cole* should deliver in discourse what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order, that it could be Copied out. The secret of this was, The Bishops had resolved openly to Vindicate their Doctrine, but not to give any Papers, or enter into dispute with Hereticks, or so far to acknowledge the Queen's Supremacy, as to engage in Conferences, at her command. *Cole* was observed to read almost all he said, though he affected to be thought only to deliver a discourse so, as if most part of it had been Extemporary.

Arguments for & against the Worship in an unknown Tongue.

The substance of it was, that though the Worship in a known Tongue had been appointed in the Scriptures, yet the Church had power to change it, as she changed the Sabbath, and had appointed the Sacrament to be received fasting, though it was Instituted after Supper: to eat blood was forbid, and a Community of goods was set up by the Apostles; yet it was in the power of the Church to alter

alter these things; he enlarged on the evil of Schism, and the necessity of adhering to the Church of *Rome*. Vulgar Tongues changed daily, but the *Latine* was the same, & was spread over many Countries. The People might reap profit from Prayers, which they understood not, as well as absent Persons. The Queen of *Ethiopia*'s Eunuch read *Isaiah*, though he understood him not; and *Philip* was sent to explain that Prophecy to him.

Horn, when this was ended, read the Paper drawn by the Reformers; he began it with a Prayer, and a Protestation of their sincerity. They founded their Assertion on Saint *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Corinthians*; in which he enjoyned them to pray with understanding, that so the Unlearned might say, *Amen*; and that nothing should be spoken, that might give an uncertain sound, but that all things should be done to edification; and though the speaking with strange Tongues, was then an extraordinary gift of the Holy Ghost, yet he forbids the using it, where there was not an Interpreter. Things so expresly enjoyned could not be indifferent, or fall under the power of the Church. The *Jews* had their Worship in the Vulgar Tongue, so had also the most barbarous Nations, when converted to Christianity. The natural use of Speech was, that every thing which was said, might be understood: Quotations were brought, to shew that Psalms were daily sung in the Vulgar Tongue among all Nations.

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1559. When they ended their Paper, it was received with a ſhout of applauſe; and was put in the Lord Keeper's hands, ſigned by them all. But the Biſhops refuſed to deliver theirs. The next day was appointed for conſidering the ſecond Point, but the Biſhops reſolved to go no further in the Conference; for they ſaw by the applauſe of the People, that the Audience was more favourable to the other ſide: ſo the next day of Meeting, they offered an anſwer to the Paper given in the former day by the Reformers. The Lord Keeper told them, that according to the Order laid down, they were firſt to go through the three Points, before they might be ſuffered to reply: but they ſaid, *Cole* had the former day only given his own ſenſe in an Extemporary diſcourſe. Their foul dealing in this was condemned by the whole Audience, ſo the Lord Keeper required them to go to the ſecond Point: but they refuſed to begin, and moved that the other ſide ſhould be made to begin; and though the Lord Keeper ſhewed them, that this was contrary to the Order agreed on before-hand, yet they continued all reſolute, and would not proceed any further; *Ferknam* only excepted: but he ſaid, he could do nothing alone, ſince the reſt would not joyn with him. The Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln* ſaid, the Faith of the Church ought not to be examined, except in a Synod of Divines: and it gave too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to diſpute with them: and that both the *Queen* and

and her Council deserved to be excommunicated, for suffering them to argue against the Catholick Faith, before an Unlearned Multitude. Upon this, they were sent to the *Tower*, and the Conference broke up: but the Reformers thought the advantage was much on their side, and that things were now carried much more fairly, than had been in those Conferences and Disputes, that were in the beginning of the former Reign. The Papists, on the other hand, said, it was visible the Audience was prepossessed, and that the Conference was appointed only to make way for the changes, that the Parliament was then about, with the Pomp of a Victory; and therefore as they blamed the Bishops, for undertaking it, so they justified them for breaking it off. Book IV 1559.

The Book of Common-Prayer was now revised, the most considerable alteration was, that the express Declaration, which was made in the second Book, set out by King *Edward*, against the Corporal Presence, was left out, that so none might be driven out of the Communion of the Church, upon that account. The matter was left undetermined, as a speculative Point, in which People were left at liberty. The Book of Ordination was not specially mentioned in the Act, which gave occasion to *Bonner* afterwards, to question the Legality of Ordinations made by it. But it had been made a part of the Common-Prayer-Book in the 5th. year of King *Edward*; and the whole *The English Service is again set up.*

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1559. Book, then set out, was now confirmed: so that by a special Act made some years after this, it was declared, that that Office was understood to be a part of it.

Speeches made against it by some Bishops.

When the Bill for the *English* Service was put in to the House of Lords, *Heath*, and *Scot* Bishop of *Chester* and *Ferknam*, made long Speeches against it, grounded chiefly on the Authority of the Church, the Antiquity of the established Religion, and Novelty of the other; which was changed every day, as appeared in King *Edward*'s time. They said, the consent of the Catholick Church, and the perpetual succession in St. *Peter*'s Chair, ought to have more authority, than a few Preachers risen up of late. They also enlarged much against the Sacriledge, the robbing of Churches, and the breaking of Images, that had been committed by the Reformers, and those that favoured them. What was said in opposition to this in the House of Lords, is not known, but a great deal of it may be gathered from the Paper which the Reformed Divines drew upon the second Point, about which they were appointed to dispute, of the power that every Church had to Reform it self. This they founded on the Epistles of St. *Paul* to the particular Churches, and St. *John*'s to the Angels of the seven Churches. In the first three Ages there were no General Councils, but every Bishop in his Diocess, or such few Bishops as could Assemble together, condemned Heresies, or deter-

determined matters that were conteſted; ſo did alſo the Orthodox Biſhops, after *Arianiſm* had ſo over-ſpread the World, that even the See of *Rome* was defiled with it. And abuſes were condemned in many places without ſtaying for a general concurrence: though that was then more poſſible, when all was under one Emperour, than it was at preſent. Even in Queen *Mary*'s time, many ſuperſtitions, as Pilgrimages, & the worſhipping of Reliques were laid aſide. Therefore they concluded, that the Queen might by her own authority, reform even the Clergy, as *Hezekiah* and *Joſias* had done under the old Law. When the Act paſt in the Houſe of Lords, eight Spiritual Lords, and nine Temporal Lords, proteſted againſt it; among whom was the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord Treaſurer. Another Act paſt with more oppoſition, that the Queen might reſerve ſome Lands belonging to Biſhopricks to her ſelf, as they fell void, giving in lieu of them impropriated Tithes to the value of them: but this was much oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons, who apprehended, that under this pretence, there might new ſpoils be made of Church-lands, ſo that upon a Diviſion of the Houſe 90. were againſt it, but 133. were for it, and ſo it was paſt. All Religious Houſes founded by the late Queen, were ſuppreſt and united to the Crown. The deprivation of the Popiſh Biſhops in King *Edward*'s time was declared valid in Law, by which all the Leaſes which had been made by thoſe that were

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put in their Sees, were good in Law: A Subsidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, were given, and so the Parliament was dissolved, on the 8th. of *May*.

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Some Bills were proposed, but not past; one was for restoring the Bishops deprived by Queen *Mary*, who were *Barlow*, *Scory* and *Coverdale*: but the first of these had been made to resign, and the last being extream old, resolved to follow *Latimer*'s example, and not return to his See. So it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for *Scory* alone. Another Bill, that was laid aside, was, for restoring all Churchmen to their Benefices, that had been turned Out, because they were married: but it seems, it was not thought decent enough to begin with such an Act. Another Bill that came to nothing, was, for impowering XXXII. Persons to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws; but as this last was then let fall, so to the great prejudice of this Church, it has slept ever since.

Many Bishops turned out.

After the Parliament was dissolved, the Oath of Supremacy was tendred to the Bishops, and all, except *Kitchin*, Bishop of *Landaffe*, refused it. *Tonstall* continued unresolved till *September*, and so long did the Queen delay the putting it to him: But at last he refused it, and so lost his Bishoprick. It was generally believed that he quitted it, rather because being extream old,

old, he thought it indecent to forſake his Brethren, and to be ſtill changing, than out of any ſcruple he had in his Conſcience, concerning it. All the Biſhops were at firſt put under confinement, but they were ſoon after ſet at liberty: only *Bonner*, *White* and *Watſon*, were kept Priſoners. Many complaints were brought againſt *Bonner*, for the Cruelties he had been guilty of againſt Law, and the Tortures he had put his Priſoners to himſelf: but yet the Queen reſolved not to ſtain the beginnings of her Reign with blood, and the Reformed Divines were, in Imitation of *Nazianzen*, upon the like revolution, in the *Roman* Empire; exhorting their Followers, not to think of revenging themſelves, but to leave that to God. *Heath* lived privately at his own Houſe, in which he was ſometimes viſited by the Queen. *Tonſtall* and *Thirleby* were appointed to live in *Lambeth*, with the new Archbiſhop. *White* and *Watſon* were moroſe, and haughty Men, much addicted to the School-Divinity, which has been often obſerved, to incline People to an overvaluing of themſelvs. All the other Biſhops, except *Pates*, *Scot* and *Goldwell*, that had been Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Cheſter*, and St. *Aſaph*, continued ſtill in *England*: but theſe had leave to go beyond Sea. A few Gentlemen, and all the Nuns went likewiſe out of *England*; and ſo gentle was the Queen, that ſhe denied that Liberty to none that asked it.

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1559. The Queen inclined to keep Images in Churches.

The Queen inclined to keep Images still in Churches, and though the Reformed Divines made many applications, to divert her from it; yet she was not easily wrought on. The Divines put all their Reasons against them in Writing, and desired her to commit the determining of that matter, to a Synod of Bishops and Divines, and not to take up an unalterable resolution upon Political Considerations. They laid before her the second Commandment against making Images for God, and the Curse pronounced against those that made an Image, and put it in a *secret place*, that is, in an Oratory: The Book of Wisdom calls them *a snare for the feet of the Ignorant*, *S. John* charged the Christians to *beware of Idols*, and not only of worshipping them. The use of them fed superstition, and ended in Idolatry, and would breed great Divisions among themselves. They shewed that Images were not allowed in the Church, till the *7th.* Century, and the Contests that were raised about them, in the *Eastern* Empire, occasioned such distractions, as in a great measure made way for its ruine, and laid it open to the *Mahometans*. These things wrought so much on the Queen, that she was at last content they should be put down.

A General Visitation.

It was now resolved to send Visiters over *England*, so Injunctions were prepared for them. Those appointed in the first year of King *Edward*, were now renewed with some little

little alteration: To which, 'Rules were 'added concerning the Marriages of the 'Clergy, for avoiding the ſcandals given 'by them. The Clergy were alſo required 'to uſe Habits, according to their degrees 'in the Univerſities. All People were to 'reſort to their own Pariſh Church; and 'ſome were to be appointed to examine and 'give notice of thoſe who went not to 'Church: all ſlanderous words were for-'bidden. No Books were to be Printed 'without Licence: Inquiry was ordered to 'be made into all the proceedings againſt 'Hereticks, during the late Reign: Reve-'rence was to be expreſſed, when the name '*Jeſus* was pronounced: An Explanation 'was made of the ſupremacy, that the 'Queen did not pretend to any authority 'for Miniſtring Divine Service; but only 'that ſhe had the ſoveraignty over all Per-'ſons, and that no foreign Power was to 'be acknowledged: and ſuch as had ſcru-'ples about it, might declare, that they 'took it only in that ſenſe. A Commu-'nion Table was to be ſet, where the Al-'tars ſtood formerly, but on Sacrament 'Days, it was to be brought into the 'moſt convenient place in the Chancel. 'The Bread for the Sacrament was to 'have no figure on it, and to be thicker 'than Wafers. The bidding Prayer was 'appointed to be the ſame, that had been 'uſed in King *Edward*'s time, only an Ex-'preſſion that imported a Prayer for the 'Dead, was changed. The obliging Church-

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men to go always in their Habits, was thought a good mean to make them observe the Decencies of their Function, when their Habit declared what they were, and would be a reproach to them, if they behaved themselves unsutably to it. The bowing at the name *Jesus* was considered, as such an acknowledgment of his Divinity, as was made by standing up at the Creed, or the *Gloria Patri*. The liberty given to explain in what sense the Oath of Supremacy was taken, gave a great Evidence of the Moderation of the Queen's Government; that she would not lay snares for her People, which is always a sign of a wicked and Tyrannical Prince. But the Queen reckoned, that if such Comprehensive Methods could be found out, as would once bring her People under an Union, though perhaps there might remain a great diversity of Opinion, that would wear off with the present Age, and in the next Generation all would be of one mind. And this had the good effect that was expected from it, till the *Pope* and the King of *Spain* began to open Seminaries beyond Sea, for a Mission to *England*; which have since that time been the occasion of almost all the distractions this Nation has laboured under.

The High-Commission Courts.

The Queen granted Commissions for the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, consisting most of the Laity; some few of the Clergy being mixed with them: 'Impowering them to visit the Churches, to suspend 'or

'or deprive unworthy Clergymen, to pro- Book IV
'ceed againſt ſcandalous Perſons, by Im-
'priſonment or Church-cenſures; to reſerve
'Penſions for ſuch, as reſigned their Bene- 1559.
'fices, and to reſtore ſuch as had been un-
'lawfully put out in the late Reign. By theſe reſerved Penſions, as the Clergy that were turned out, were kept from extream want, ſo they were in great meaſure bound to their good behaviour by them: The Impowering Laymen to deprive Churchmen, or Excommunicate, could not be eaſily excuſed, but was as juſtifiable, as the Commiſſions to Lay-chancellours for thoſe things were. There are 9400. Benefices in *England*, but of all theſe, the number of thoſe who choſe to reſign, rather than to take the Oath, was very inconſiderable. Fourteen Biſhops, ſix Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons, fifteen Heads of Colledges, fifty Prebendaries, & eighty Rectors, was the whole number of thoſe that were turned out. But it was believed, that the greateſt part complied againſt their Conſciences, and would have been ready for another turn, if the Queen had died, while that Race of Incumbents lived, and the next Succeſſor had been of another Religion.

Parker is very unwillingly made Archbiſh. of *Canterbury*.

The See of *Canterbury* was now to be filled: but *Parker* ſtood out long, before he would ſubmit to a burden, which he thought diſproportioned to his ſtrength. He ſaid, he was afraid of incurring God's Indig-

Book IV 1559. Indignation, for accepting a truſt which he could not diſcharge, as he ought, having neither ſtrength of body, nor mind, equal to it: he was threatned with Impriſonment in caſe of refuſal; but he ſaid, he would ſuffer it chearfully, rather than engage in a ſtation, that was ſo far above him: and he had ſuch a ſenſe of the Epiſcopal Function, that he reſolved never to aſpire to it. He thought he had but two or three years more of life before him, and deſired to imploy theſe well, and not to be advanced to a place, in which he knew, he could not anſwer the expectations, that ſome had of him: he wiſhed the Queen would ſeek out a Man, that were neither Arrogant, Faint-hearted, nor Covetous: and expreſſed the great apprehenſions he had, that ſome Men, who he perceived, were Men ſtill, notwithſtanding all the Trials they paſt through of late, would revive thoſe heats that were begun beyond Sea, and that they would fall a quarrelling among themſelves, which would prove a pleaſant diverſion to the Papiſts. But when by many repeated commands, he was required to accept of that great advancement, he at laſt writ to the Queen her ſelf, and proteſted, 'that out of regard to God, and 'the good of her ſervice, he held himſelf 'bound in Conſcience, to declare to her, 'his great unworthineſs, for ſo high a Fun-'ction; and ſo, as proſtrate at her feet, he 'begged her to preſs it on him no further: 'for that Office did require a Man of more

'Learn-

'Learning, Vertue and Experience, than he 'perfectly knew was in himself. But as these denials, so earnestly and frequently repeated, shewed, that he had certainly some of the necessary qualifications, which were true humility, and a contempt of the World; so they tended to increase the esteem, which the Queen, and her Ministers had of him: And they persisting in their Resolution, he was at last forced to yield to it. He was upon the sending of the *Conge d'eslire*, chosen by the Chapter of *Canterbury*; and in *September*, the Queen issued out a Warrant for his Consecration, which was directed to *Tonstall*, *Bourn* and *Pool* (the last was Cardinal *Pool*'s Brother, and was Bishop of *Peterborough*) and to *Kitchin*, *Barlow* and *Scory*: by which it appears, that there was then some hope of gaining the former three to obey the Laws, and to continue in their Sees: but they refusing to execute this, there was a second Warrant directed to *Kitchin*, *Barlow*, *Scory* and *Coverdale*, and to *Bale*, Bishop of *Ossory*, and two suffragan Bishops to Consecrate *Parker*: and on the 17*th*. of *December*, he was Consecrated by four of these, according to the Book of Ordination, set out under King *Edward*, only the giving the Pastoral Staff was now omitted.

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After this *Parker* ordained *Grindall* for the See of *London*; *Cox* for *Ely*, *Horn* for *Winchester*, *Sandys* for *Worcester*, *Merick* for *Bangor*, *Young* for St. *Davids*, *Bullingham* for

The other Bishops consecrated.

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for *Lincoln*, *Jewell* for *Salisbury*, *Davis* for St. *Asaph*, *Gueſt* for *Rocheſter*, *Berkley* for *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bentham* for *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Alley* for *Exeter*, and *Parre* for *Peterborough*, *Barlow* and *Scory* were put in the Sees of *Chicheſter* and *Hereford*. The Sees of *York* and *Dureſme* were kept vacant a Year, upon ſome hopes that *Heath* and *Tonſtall* would have conformed; but in the Year 1561. *Young* was tranſlated from St. *Davids* to *York*; and *Pilkinton* was put in *Dureſme*.

The Fable of the *Naggs*-head confuted.

All this is opened the more particularly, for diſcovering the Impudence of the Contrivance of the *Naggs*-Head Ordination, which was firſt vented in King *James*'s time, above forty Years after this. It was then ſaid, that the Elect Biſhops met at the *Naggs*-Head Tavern in *Cheapſide*, and were in great diſorder, becauſe *Kitchin* refuſed to conſecrate them; upon which *Scory* made them all kneel down, and laid the Bible on their Heads, ſaying, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God ſincerely*; and that this was all the Ordination that they ever had: and to confirm this, it was pretended, that *Neale*, one of *Bonner*'s Chaplains, watched them into the Tavern, and ſaw all that was done through the Key-hole. This was given out, when all that were concerned in it were dead; yet the old Earl of *Nottingham*, who had ſeen *Parker*'s Conſecration, was ſtill alive, and declared, that he ſaw it done at *Lambeth*, in the Chappel,

pel, according to the Common-Prayer-Book, and both the Records of the Crown, and the Regiſters of the See of *Canterbury* do plainly confute this. The Author did alſo ſee the Original Inſtrument then made, deſcribing all the particulars relating to *Parker*'s Conſecration, preſerved ſtill in *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Cambridge*, among the other Manuſcripts which he left to that Houſe, in which he had his Education.

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The firſt thing that the Biſhops ſet about, was, the publiſhing the Doctrine of the Church. In order to this, a Review was made of thoſe Articles, that had been compiled under *Edward* the VI. and ſome ſmall alterations were made. The moſt conſiderable, was, that a long determination, that was made formerly againſt the Corporal Preſence, was now left out; and it was only ſaid, *That the Body of Chriſt was given and received in a ſpiritual manner, and that the means by which it was received, was Faith.* Yet in the Original Subſcription of the Articles, by both Houſes of Convocation, ſtill extant, there was a full declaration made againſt it, in theſe words, 'Chriſt, when he 'aſcended into Heaven, made his Body Im-'mortal, but took not from it the nature 'of a Body. For ſtill it retains, according 'to the Scriptures, a true Humane Body, 'which muſt be always in one definite place, 'and cannot be ſpread into many, or all 'places at once: ſince then *Chriſt* was car-'ried up to Heaven, and is to remain there 'to

The Articles of the Church publiſhed.

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'to the end of the World, and is to come 'from thence, and from no other place, to 'judge the Quick and the Dead; None of 'the Faithful ought to believe, or profess 'the Real, or as they call it, the Corporal 'Presence of his Flesh and Blood in the Eu-'charist. But the design of the Queen's Council, was, to unite once the whole Nation, into the Communion of the Church; and it was feared, that so express a definition against the Real Presence, would have driven many out of the Communion of the Church, who might have been otherwise kept in it: and therefore it was thought enough to assert only the Spiritual Presence, but that it was not necessary to condemn the Corporal Presence, in such express words; and therefore, though the Convocation had so positively determined this matter, it was thought more conducing to the publick peace, to dash it in the Original Copy, and to suppress it in the Printed Copies.

A Translation of the Bible.

The next thing they took in hand, was a new Translation of the Bible: Several Books of it were given to several Bishops, who were appointed to call for such Divines, as were learned in the *Greek* or *Hebrew* Tongues, and by their assistance they were to translate that parcel that fell to their share: and so when one had compleated that which was assigned to him, he was to offer it to the Correction of those that were appointed to translate the other

other parts, and after every Book had thus paſt the Cenſure of all, who were imployed in this matter, then it was approved of. And ſo great haſt made they in this important work, that within two or three years, the whole Tranſlation was finiſhed. Book IV 1559.

The want of Church diſcipline.

There was one thing yet wanting, to compleat the Reformation of this Church, which was the reſtoring a Primitive Diſcipline, againſt ſcandalous Perſons, the eſtabliſhing the Government of the Church in Eccleſiaſtical hands, and the taking it out of Lay-hands, who have ſo long profaned it; and have expoſed the authority of the Church, and of the Cenſures of it, chiefly Excommunication to the contempt of the Nation, by which the reverence due to Holy things, is in ſo great a meaſure loſt, and the dreadfulleſt of all Cenſures, is now become the moſt ſcorned and deſpiſed. But upon what reaſons, it cannot be now known, this was not carried on with that Zeal; nor brought to that perfection that was neceſſary. The want of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, ſet on ſome to deviſe many new Platforms, for the adminiſtration of it, in every Pariſh; all which gave great offence to the Government, and were ſo much oppoſed by it, that they came to nothing. Other differences were raiſed concerning the Veſtments of the Clergy, and ſome Factions growing up in the Court, theſe differences were heightned, by thoſe who intended to ſerve their own ends, by making the ſeveral Parties

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quarrel with so much animosity, that it should scarce be possible to reconcile them: Since that time, the fatal Division of this Nation, into the Court and Country party, has been the chief occasion of the growth, and continuance of those differences; so that all the attempts which have been made by moderate Men to compose them, have proved ineffectual.

The Reformation in *Scotland.*

At this time there was a great revolution of affairs in *Scotland.* When there was a probability of bringing the Treaty of *Cambray* to a good effect, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* writ to his Sister, the Queen Regent of *Scotland*, and to the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, and let them know the Resolution that was taken, to extirpate Heresie, and exhorted them to use their endeavours for that end. The Queen Regent saw, that by doing this, she would not only break her faith to the Lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon the assurance she gave them of her Protection, but that the Peace of *Scotland* would be endangered; for as their Party was strong, so it was not to be doubted, but the Queen of *England* would support them, and so she was not easily brought to follow her Brother's cruel Counsels. But the Bishops shut their eyes upon all dangers, and resolved to strike a terror into the People, by some severe Executions. They began with *Walter Mell*, an old infirm Priest, who had preached in some places against many of the Opinions then received;

ved: he was particularly accuſed for having aſſerted the lawfulneſs of the Marriage of the Clergy, and for having condemned the Sacrifice of the Maſs and Tranſubſtantiation, with ſome other particulars, all which he confeſſed, and upon his refuſal to abjure them, he was condemned to be burnt. Yet ſo averſe were the People from thoſe Cruelties, that it was not eaſie to find any that would execute the Sentence: Nor would any do ſo much as ſell a Cord to tye him to the Stake, ſo that the Archbiſhop was forced to ſend for the Cords of his own Pavilion. The old Man expreſſed great firmneſs of mind, and ſuch chearfulneſs in his ſufferings, that the People were much affected at it: and this being every where looked on as a Prologue to greater ſeverities, that were to follow, the Nobility and Gentry began to conſider what was fit to be done. They had offered a Petition to the Queen Regent the laſt year, that the worſhip might be in the Vulgar Tongue, that the Communion might be given in both kinds, and that ſcandalous Prieſts might be turned out, and worthy Men be put in their places. The Queen Regent being unwilling to irritate ſo great a Party, before the *Dauphin* was declared King of *Scotland*, promiſed that they ſhould not be puniſhed for having their Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. In Parliament, they moved for a Repeal of the Laws, for the Biſhops proceedings againſt Hereticks, and that nothing might be judged Hereſie, but that which was condemned

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1559. by the Word of God; but the Queen Regent told them, these things could not pass, because of the Opposition, which was made to them, by the Spiritual Estate; upon that they made a Protestation, that whereas they had modestly moved for a redress of abuses, they were not to be blamed for the ill effects of rejecting their Petition, and the Violences that might follow.

But when the Queen had gained her end, in relation to the *Dauphin*, she ordered a Citation to be served on all the Reformed Preachers: The Earl of *Glencawn* was, upon that, sent to put her in mind of her former promises; she answered him roughly, 'That maugre all that would take those 'Mens part, they should be banished *Scot-*'*land*; and added, that Princes were bound 'only to observe their promises, so far as 'they found it convenient for them to do it. To this he replied, that if she renounced her Promises, they would renounce their obedience to her.

It is first set up in St. *Johnstown*.

In St. *Johnstown*, that Party entred into the Churches, and had Sermons publickly in them. The Ministers were coming from all parts, to appear on the 20*th*. of *May*, for to that day they had been cited; and great numbers came along with them. The Queen apprehending the ill effects of a great Confluence of People, sent them word not to come, and upon this many went home again; yet upon their not appearance, they were

were all declared Rebels. This foul dealing made many leave her, and go over to thoſe that were met at St. *Johnſtown*. And the heat of the People was raiſed to that pitch, that they broke in upon the Houſes of the Monks and Friars, and after they had diſtributed all that they found in them, except that which the Monks conveyed away to the Poor, they pulled them down to the ground. This provoked the Queen ſo much, that ſhe reſolved to puniſh that Town, in a moſt exemplary manner: ſo ſhe gathered the *French* Souldiers together, with ſuch others, as would joyn with her: but the Earl of *Glencairn* gathered 2500. Men together, and with incredible haſt, he marched to that place, where there were now in all 7000. armed Men. This made the Queen afraid to engage with them; ſo an agreement was made. An oblivion was promiſed for all that was paſt; Matters of Religion were referred to a Parliament, and the Queen was to be received into St. *Johnstown*, without carrying her *Frenchmen* with her: But ſhe carried them with her into the Town, and as ſhe put a Garriſon in it, ſo ſhe puniſhed many for what was paſt; and when her promiſes were objected to her, ſhe anſwered, 'Princes were not to be ſtrictly 'charged with their Promiſes, eſpecially 'when they were made to Hereticks; and 'that ſhe thought it no ſin to kill and de'ſtroy them all, and then would excuſe it as 'well as could be, when it was done. This turned the Hearts of the whole Nation from

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her, and in many places they began to pull down Images, and to raſe Monaſteries. The Queen Regent repreſented this to the King of *France*, as done on deſign to ſhake off the *French* yoke, and deſired a great Force to reduce the Countrey. On the other hand, ſome were ſent over from the Lords, to give a true repreſentation of the matter, and to let him know, that an Oblivion for what was paſt, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion for the time to come, would give full ſatisfaction. The *French* King began now to apprehend, how great a charge the keeping that Kingdom in peace, was like to come to; and ſaw the danger of the *Scots* caſting themſelves into the Arms of the Queen of *England*, therefore he ſent one, in whom the Conſtable put an entire confidence to *Scotland*, to bring him a true report of the ſtate of that matter, that was ſo variouſly repreſented: But before he could return, the King of *France* was dead, and the Conſtable was in diſgrace; and all affairs were put in the hands of the Brothers of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, ſo that all moderate Councils were now out of doors. The people did ſo univerſally riſe againſt the Queen Regent, that ſhe was forced to retire to *Dunbar*-Caſtle: She was once willing to refer the whole matter to a Parliament: But 2000. Men coming over from *France*, and aſſurances being ſent Her, of a greater Force to follow, ſhe took heart, and came and fortified *Leith*, and again broke her laſt agreement, upon which the Lords pretended, that

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that in their Queens Minority, the Government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent was only the chief Administrator, and accountable to them: so they resolved to depose her from her Regency. Book IV 1559.

They objected many Maleadministrations to her, as her beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in strangers to subdue it, her embasing the Coin, governing without consent of the Nobility, & breaking her Faith and Promises to them, upon which they declared that she had fallen from her Regency, and suspended her Power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now called *the Lords of the Congregation*, retired from *Edenburgh* to *Sterlin*: upon which the *French* came to *Edenburgh*, and set up the Masse again in the Churches, then a new Supply came from *France*, commanded by the Marques of *Elbeufe*, one of the Queen Regents Brothers, so that there were in all 4000. *French* in *Scotland*. But by her having this foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united against the Queen, and to look on her as a common Enemy. The *Scots*, who had been hitherto animated, and secretly supplied with Money and Ammunition from *England*, were now forced to desire the Queen of *England*'s aid more openly: and *France* was now like to be so much divided within it self, that the Queen did not much apprehend a War with that Crown; so she was more easily determined to assist the *Scots*. The *Queen* Regent is deposed.

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1559. A Treaty was made between the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the *Scots*: they promiſed to be the Queen's perpetual Allies, and that after the *French* were driven out of *Scotland*, they ſhould continue their Obedience to their own Queen: upon which, 2000. Horſe, and 6000. Foot, were ſent to aſſiſt the *Scots*. Theſe beſieged *Lieth*, during which, there were conſiderable loſſes on both ſides, but the loſſes on the ſide of the *Engliſh* were more eaſily made up, ſupplies being nearer at hand. The *French* offered to put *Calais* again in the Queen of *England*'s hands, if ſhe would recall her Forces out of *Scotland*: She anſwered on the ſudden, that ſhe did not value that Fiſh-Town, ſo much as ſhe did the quiet of the Iſle of *Britain*. But ſhe offered to Mediate a Peace between them and the *Scots*.

The *Queen* of *England* aſſiſts the *Scots*.

10 *June*. The Queen Regent dies.

Before this could be effected, the Queen Regent of *Scotland* died, ſhe ſent for ſome of the *Scottiſh* Lords in her ſickneſs, and asked them pardon for the Injuries ſhe had done them: She adviſed them to ſend both the *French* and *Engliſh* out of *Scotland*, and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen: She alſo diſcourſed with one of their Preachers, and declared that ſhe hoped to be ſaved only by the Merits of *Chriſt*. She had governed the Nation, before the laſt year of her life, with ſuch Juſtice and Prudence, and was ſo great an Example, both in her own Perſon, and in the Order of her Court, that if ſhe had died

before

before her Brother's bloody Counſels had involved her in theſe laſt paſſages of her life, ſhe had been the moſt lamented and eſteemed Queen that had been in that Nation, for many Ages. Her own Inclinations were Juſt and Moderate; and ſhe often ſaid, that if her Counſels might take place, ſhe did not doubt, but ſhe ſhould bring all things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace: Soon after a Peace was concluded, between *England*, *France* and *Scotland*: An Oblivion was granted for all that was paſt; The *French* and *Engliſh* were to be ſent out of *Scotland*, and all other things were referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's abſence, the Kingdom was to be governed by a Council of 12. all Natives; of theſe the Queen was to name 7. and the States were to chooſe 5. So both the *Engliſh* and *French* were ſent out of *Scotland*: and the Parliament met in *Auguſt*.

A Parliament meets, and ſettles the Reformation.

In it, all Acts for the former way of Religion were repealed, and a confeſſion of Faith penned by *Knox*, afterwards inſerted among the Acts of Parliament, 1567. was confirmed. Theſe Acts were oppoſed only by three Temporal Lords, who ſaid, they would believe as their Fathers had done: but all the Spiritual Lords, both Biſhops, and Abbots, conſented to them; and they did dilapidate the Lands and Revenues of the Church in the ſtrangeſt manner, that was ever known: the Abbots converted their Abbies into Temporal Eſtates, and the

Book IV 1559. the Bishops, though they continued Papists still, divided all their Lands among their Bastards or Kindred; and procured confirmations of many of the Grants they gave from *Rome*: by which, that Church was so impoverished, that if King *James* and King *Charles* the First, had not with much zeal, and great endeavours, retrieved some part of the Ancient Revenues, and provided a considerable maintenance for the Inferiour Clergy, all the encouragements to Religion and Learning had been to such a degree withdrawn, that Barbarism must have again over-run that Kingdom. When these Acts thus agreed on in the Parliament of *Scotland*, were sent over to *France*, they were rejected with great scorn; so that the *Scots* began to apprehend a new War: but *Francis* the second's death, soon after delivered them from all their fears: for their Queen having no more the support of so great a Crown, was forced to return home, and govern in such a manner, as that Nation was pleased to submit to.

The *Queen of England* the Head of all the Protestants,

Thus had the Queen of *England* divided *Scotland* from its ancient dependance on *France*, and had tied it so to her own Interests, that she was not only secure on that side of her Dominions, but came to have so great an interest in *Scotland*, that affairs there, were for most part governed according to the Directions she sent thither. Other Accidents did also concur to give her a great share in all the most Important affairs of *Europe*.

In

1559. Both in *France*

In *France*, upon *Henry* the second's fatal end, great Divisions arose between the Princes of the Blood, and the Brothers of the House of *Guise*, into whose hands the administration of affairs was put, during *Francis* the second's short Reign: It was pretended on the one hand, that the King was not of Age, till he was 22. and that during his Minority, the Princes of the Blood were to Govern by the Advice of the Courts of Parliaments, and the Assembly of Estates: On the other hand, it was said, that the King might assume the Government, and Imploy whom he pleased at 14. A design was laid, in which many of both Religions concurred, for taking the Government out of the hands of the strangers, and seising on the King's Person, but a Protestant, moved by a Principle of Conscience, discovered it. Upon this the Prince of *Conde*, and many others, were seised on, and if the King had not died soon after, they had suffered for it. *Charles* the Ninth succeeding, who was under Age, the King of *Navarre* was declared Regent, but he, though before a Protestant, was drawn into the Papist Interest; and joyned himself with the Queen Mother, and the Constable. A severe Edict was made against the Protestants, but the Execution of it was like to raise great disorders, so another was made in a great Assembly of many Princes of the Blood, Privy Councellours, and 8. Courts of Parliament, allowing the free exercise of that Religion: yet after this, the Duke

Book IV 1559. Duke of *Guise* reconciled himself to the Queen Mother, and they resolved to break the Edict: so the Duke of *Guise* happening to pass by a Meeting of Protestants, his Servants offered violence to them; from reproachful words, it went to the throwing of stones; by one of which the Duke was hurt: upon which his Servants killed 60. of the Protestants, and wounded 200. and upon this the Edict was every where broken. It was said, that the Regent's power did not extend so far, as that he could break so Publick an Edict, and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. The Prince of *Conde* set himself at the Head of them, and the King of *Navarre* being killed soon after the breaking out of the War, he, as the first Prince of the Blood, that was of Age, ought to have been declared Regent: so that the Protestants said, their defending themselves was not Rebellion, since they had both the Law and the first Prince of the Blood on their side. The Wars lasted near 30. Years, for in all that time, notwithstanding some Intervals of Peace, the seeds of War were never so rooted out, but that they were ready to spring up, upon every new occasion. In this the Queen Interposed, and supported the Protestant Party, sometimes with Men, but oftner with Money, so that she had near the half of that Kingdom depending on her.

In

In the *Netherlands*, a long continuance of civil Wars almoſt on the ſame account, gave her the like advantages. The King of *Spain*, by endeavouring to ſet up the Courts of Inquiſition in thoſe Provinces, and by keeping ſome *Spaniſh* Troops among them, and other exceſſes in his Government, contrary to the Articles of the *Latus Introitus*, provoked them ſo much, that they ſhook off his Yoke: and were ſupported by the Aid and Money which the Queen ſent them. So that the Queen met with ſuch a Conjuncture of affairs in the Dominions of thoſe Princes that were next her, of whom only ſhe had reaſon to be afraid, as ſcarce any Prince ever had. 1559. And in the *Netherlands.*

In foreign Parts, ſhe was the Arbiter of Chriſtendom; and at home things were ſo happily managed, Trade did ſo flouriſh, and Juſtice was ſo equally diſtributed, that ſhe became the wonder of the World. She was Victorious in all her Wars with *Spain*; and no wonder: for it appeared ſignally in the ruine of the great *Armada*, which *Spain* lookt on as *Invincible*, that Heaven fought for her. She reigned more abſolutely over the Hearts, than the Perſons of her Subjects. She always followed the true Intereſts of her People, and ſo found her Parliaments always ready to comply with her deſires, and to grant her Subſidies, as often as ſhe called for them: and as ſhe never asked The excellent adminiſtration of affairs in *England.*

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asked them, but when the occasion for them was visible, so after they were granted, if the state of her affairs changed so, that she needed them not, she readily discharged them. *Rome* and *Spain* set many Engines on work, both against her Person and Government: but she still lived and triumphed. In the first ten Years of her Reign, the Papists were so Compliant, that there was no stir made about matters of Religion. Pope *Pius* the fourth condemned the madness of his Predecessor, in that high and provoking Message, which he sent her; and therefore he attempted a reconciliation with her, at two several times: and offered, if she would joyn her self to the See of *Rome*, that he would annul the sentence against her Mothers Marriage, and confirm the *English* service, and the Communion in both kinds. But she refused to enter into any Treaty with him. *Pius* the fifth, that succeeded him in that Chair, resolved to contrive her death, as is related by him, that writes his Life. The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* was forced to take Sanctuary in *England*; where it was resolved to use her well, and restore her to her Crown and Countrey. But her own officious friends, and the frequent Plots that were laid, for taking away the Queens life, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprisonment, that ended in a Tragical death: which, though it was the greatest blemish of this Reign, yet was made in some sort

Catena.

justi-

justifiable, if not necessary, by the many Attempts that the Papists made on the Queen's Life: and by the Deposition which Pope *Pius* the fifth thundred out against Her; from which it was inferred, that as long as that Party had the hopes of such a Successor, the Queen's Life was not safe, nor her Government secure. Book IV 1559

This led her towards the end of her Reign, to greater severities against those of the *Roman* Communion, of which a Copious Account is given by Sir *Francis Walsingham*, that was for so many Years imployed, either in foreign Embassies, or in the secrets of State at home; that none knew better than he did, the hidden springs that moved and directed all Her Councils. He writ a long Letter to a *French* man, giving him an account of all the severities of the Queen's Government, both against Papists and Puritans. Severities against the Papists were necessary.

The substance of which is, 'That the 'Queen laid down two Maximes of State; 'the one was not to force Consciences, 'the other was not to let factious practi- 'ces go unpunished, because they were co- 'vered with the pretences of Conscience: 'At first, she did not revive those severe 'Laws past in her Father's time, by which 'the refusal of the Oath of Supremacy 'was made Treason, but left her People 'to the freedom of their thoughts, and 'made Sir *Francis Walsingham*'s account of the steps in which she proceeded.

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'made it only Penal to extol a foreign 'Jurisdiction: She also laid aside the word '*Supream Head*, and the refusers of the 'Oath were only disabled from holding 'Benefices, or Charges, during their Re-'fusal. Upon *Pius* the Fifth's Excommu-'nicating her, though the Rebellion in the 'North was chiefly occasioned by that, 'she only made a Law against the bring-'ing over, or publishing of Bulls; and the 'venting of *Agnus Dei*'s, or such other 'Love-tokens, which were sent from *Rome*, 'on design to draw the Hearts of Her 'People from her, which were no Essen-'tial parts of that Religion; so that 'this could hurt none of their Consci-'ences. But when after the 20*th*. Year 'of her Reign, it appeared that the King 'of *Spain* designed to Invade her Domi-'nions, and that the Priests that were 'sent over from the Seminaries beyond 'Sea, were generally employed to cor-'rupt the Subjects in their Allegiance, 'by which, Treason was carried in the 'Clouds, and Infused secretly in Confes-'sion; Then pecuniary Punishments were 'inflicted on such as withdrew from the 'Church: and in Conclusion, she was for-'ced to make Laws of greater rigour, 'but did often mitigate the severity of 'them, to all that would promise to ad-'here to her, in case of a Foreign Inva-'sion. As for the Puritans, as long as they 'only inveighed against some abuses, as

'Plura-

'Pluralities, Non-residence, or the like, 'it was not their Zeal against those, but 'only their Violence that was condem- 'ned: When they refused to comply with 'some Ceremonies, and questioned the 'superiority of Bishops, and declared for 'a Democracy in the Church, they were 'connived at with great gentleness: But 'it was observed, that they affected Po- 'pularity much, and the Methods they 'took to compass their ends, were judg- 'ed dangerous, and they made such use 'of the aversion the Nation had to Po- 'pery, that it was visible they were in 'a hazzard of running from one Extream to 'another: They set up a New Model 'of Church-Discipline, which was like 'to prove no less dangerous to the Li- 'berties of private Men, than to the So- 'vereign Power of the Prince: Yet all 'this was born with, as long as they 'proceeded with those expressions of du- 'ty, which became Subjects. But after- 'wards, when they resolved to carry on 'their Designs, without waiting for the 'consent of the Magistrate, and entred 'into Combinations; when they began 'to defame the Government by ridicu- 'lous Pasquils, and boasted of their 'Numbers and strength, and in some 'Places brake out into Tumults, then it 'appeared that it was Faction, and not 'Zeal, that animated them. Upon that, 'the Queen found it necessary to restrain

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'them, more than she had done formerly; yet she did it with all the Moderation that could consist with the Peace of 'the Church and State. And thus, from this Letter, an Idea of this whole Reign may be justly formed.

The Conclusion.

Thus have I prosecuted, what I at first undertook, the Progress of the Reformation, from its first, and small beginnings in *England*, till it came to a compleat settlement in the time of this Queen. Of whose Reign, if I have adventured to give an Account, it was not intended so much for a full Character of Her, and her Councils, as to set out the great, and visible Blessings of God that attended on her; the many Preservations she had, and that by such signal Discoveries, as both sav'd her Life, and secured her Government; and the unusual happiness of her whole Reign, which raised Her to the Esteem, and envy of that Age, and the wonder of all Posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could rule such a Kingdom, for above 44 Years, with such constant success, in so great Tranquillity at home, with a vast increase of Wealth, and with such Glory abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with so much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

FINIS.

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